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THE ANTIQUITY

OF

HEBREW WRITING AND LITERATURE

OR

PROBLEMS IN PENTATEUCHAL CRITICISM

BY

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Europe Through American Eyes, 1886.

The Old Testament a Book for Our Times, 1888.

The Code Hammurabi and the Book of the Covenant, 1905.

Lost Books and Records Quoted in the Old Testament, 1908.

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PREFACE

This volume is the outgrowth of investigations conducted in the discharge of duties in connection with the chair of Semitic Languages and Literature in Heidelberg Theological Seminary, Tiffin, O., 1887-1907, and in that of Old Testament Criticism and Theology in the Central Theological Seminary, Dayton, O., 1907- . In the preparation of lectures on the origin and transmission of the Pentateuch, the author failed to find in any language a work which discusses adequately the language, script and writing-material which Moses might have employed in composing the Pentateuch. The common Introductions to the Old Testament, even the most extensive, while describing minutely the transmission of the Old Testament after it had received a fixed form at the hands of scribes, Talmudists and Massŏretes, pass lightly over the David-Ezra period, and furnish little or nothing on the external history of the text in the pre-Davidic period.

The attempt is here made to supply the necessary data for a thorough discussion of the transmission and preservation of the first seven books of the Bible (Heptateuch) in the centuries immediately following the Mosaic age. The theses defended here are: 1. The conditions for the cultivation of writing and literature by the Hebrews arose from three to four centuries earlier than allowed in the current (largely negative) criticism. 2. The Pentateuch in its underlying strata may well, for aught to the contrary (so far as outer possibilities go), have originated under the guiding hand of Moses. The aim is, not to discuss the Pentateuchal problem as such, but to supply the *prolegomena* to such a discussion.

A brief outline of the argument may be of service to the reader. After a statement of the antithetic positions of the conservative and the radical schools of Old Testament criticism and theology (Chapter I) and an explanation of the aim, methods and alleged results of criticism (Chap. II), it is shown that the Hebrews as a branch of the great Semitic stock inherited the traditions and literary instincts of their kin and were as far advanced in civilization as their contemporaries. Through close political and cultural contact with the Babylonians and the Egyptians, the antiquity of whose literature is briefly described (Chap. III), the gifted and resourceful Hebrews probably already at an early date prepared records comparing favorably with those of the ancient world generally (Chap. IV). The Old Testament books of the middle period having been written in the archaic Hebrew script, the question emerges, when the Hebrews adopted the Phœnician (more properly Semitic) alphabet; and this turns on the date of its origin. If the alphabet was not invented before the Mosaic age, or, if invented, it had not yet reached the Hebrews, it is a waste of time to argue that Moses wrote the Pentateuch in the Hebrew language and script (Chap. V).

Since the dominant school of Old Testament criticism, the Grafian, (whose shibboleth is that the Priest code is the latest of the codes, *c.* 445 B. C., and so, according to Duhm, the Mosaic age "is at one stroke *wiped out*"), holds that the Phœnician alphabet reached Israel only about 1000 B. C., the problem of the origin of the Pentateuch hinges, not on an *a priori* and critical analysis of the contents (the method pursued alike by conservatives and radicals), but on the prior question of the language and script employed by the Hebrews in the Mosaic and pre-Davidic periods, or, more specifically, on the date of their adoption of the Phœnician alphabet (Chap. V).

The theories of the Phœnician, Egyptian, Hittite, Babylonian, Aramaic, South Arabic, or Cretan origin of the alphabet are reviewed and the conclusion reached that the Phœnicians have the best claim to the distinction (Chaps. VI and IX). All the lines of evidence show that the Phœnician alphabet was adopted by the Greeks *c.* 1200-1100; and the fixed forms of the Phœnician letters and letter-names at that date imply several centuries of previous development. Contrary to the old view that some genius devised and at once brought into general use the Semitic alphabet of 22 letters, it is pointed out that, according to the principles of alphabetology, written like spoken language is the result of centuries of growth and development, of selection and rejection, and that slow differentiation is the law governing the life and transformation of alphabets. Accordingly, the Phœnician alphabet (assuming that the law of development in the centuries prior to 1000 B. C. was about the same as thereafter) reached its completed form (with the exception of one or two letters) as early as 1500 B. C. As over against the securely intrenched cuneiform, the *Scriptura sacra et diplomatica*, it circulated at first as a *Scriptura profana et privata* (which explains its non-employment in the Amarna Letters). Chap. X.

That the early Old Testament books were composed in the Hebrew language and the archaic Hebrew script appears certain from such external evidence as the Samaria ostraca, Siloam inscription, Gezer Calendar tablet, the Jeroboam and other ancient seals, and from the internal evidence of the Song of Deborah, the Book of Jashar, the Book of the Wars of Jehovah and other early productions (Chap. VII and XI). It is probable that the Hebrews while in Egypt learned the Egyptian language and script, and that Moses and his scribes understood the Babylonian language and script; but it is improbable that the Pentateuch was written in Egyptian hieratic, or in cuneiform. The Hebrews acquired a knowledge of the Phœnician letters while yet in Egypt through contact with people speaking the Canaanite-Phœnician-Hebrew dialect, or possibly through the Minæans. It is shown that the extensive literature of the David-Solomon period, as *e. g.*, David's Lament over Saul and Jonathan, various Psalms, and historical works, are composed in a finished style and imply a long previous period of writing and of the cultivation of literature (Chap. XII). The antecedent probability of a considerable body of pre-Davidic literature is confirmed by the Book of Jashar, the Book of the Wars of Jehovah, Jotham's Parable and Joshua's copying of the law. The results thus obtained prepare the way for a reconciliation of the traditional view that Moses wrote the Pentateuch and of the modern critical hypothesis, that the Hexateuch arose some six or eight centuries after his time. Chap. XIII.

Since recent American works on Old Testament history and criticism from the analytical side reflect chiefly the Graf-Wellhausen hypothesis of the lateness of Hebrew writing and literature, it has been thought opportune to adduce, with such degree of fulness as the present subject admits, the argumentation of the so-called Dillmann-Kittel school (broadly speaking) in support of the antiquity of the Old Testament religion and institutions generally. The views of Dillmann, Kittel, Baudissin, Koenig, Klostermann, Hommel, Strack, Oettli, Orelli, Eerdmanns and others (whose works are not always accessible to the English reader and whose position is constantly ignored by American Grafians) are presented briefly in the body of the book and more especially in the foot-notes in a literal translation or in the original, when extreme accuracy is sought.*

The discriminating reader will observe that a considerable body of German scholars, dissatisfied with the extremes of Wellhausenism and impelled by the wonderful archæological discoveries of recent years, entertain the view (even though accepting some theory of the codes), that the people of Israel already in an early period were sufficiently far advanced to prepare and transmit accurate records, like the Babylonians and Egyptians, and that the Pentateuch, at least in its underlying parts, is of Mosaic origin.

There being frequent occasion to refer to Graf, Kuenen, Wellhausen, Stade and their followers in this country, it is necessary to state that in the interest of brevity the writer employs the terms Grafianism and Wellhausenism as denoting a system of Old Testament criticism and theology which may be characterized briefly as follows. The books of the Old Testament are the spontaneous and natural product of the Hebrew mind, specifically of the choice spirits of the nation (as *e. g.* English literature is an expression of the spirit of the English people through their great writers); the religion of Israel like that of Egypt, Babylonia, India, begins in fetishism, advances to polytheism, and by an inner striving of the people passes upward into monotheism. The work of the prophets forms indeed "an integral part in the progress of spiritual religion," but their teachings are "mere flashes of spiritual insight lighting up for a moment some dark corner". Gradually, as a result of the development of the religious sentiment, the Hebrew people, cultivating their native Semitic instinct for religion, surpass all ancient races in the purity of their monotheism and the elaborateness of their ritual. But their sacred books, though recording a high conception of their local deity, Jehovah, and breathing lofty sentiments, especially in the prophets, are no more entitled to a special divine inspiration than a Vedic hymn or the Homeric poems. In brief the Old Testament is a record of the evolution of the Hebrew mind, and not a revelation of the divine mind. This naturalistic movement assumes the form of a philosophy of history and of mind. Years ago Vatke, the forerunner of Wellhausen, taught that "religion is developed in the human spirit and finally comes to itself in pure thought, so that the development of religion among a people presents the same spiritual process as the development of thought". Adopting the psychological tenet that in the development of mind the emotional stage is first and the reflective second, Vatke professed to be able to trace in true Hegelian style the development of the Hebrew religion and of the different codes and documents. In this view the objective, supernatural factor in revelation (which is thus no longer a revelation) is reduced to the lowest limit or indeed entirely denied, and the subjective, psychical and purely human elements magnified out of all proportion to their real value. In short, nearly all that under the old view was regarded as divine, inspired and objective in the Old Testament is reduced to the merely natural and subjective manifestations of the human mind. All is an evolution or development of certain inherent powers and capacities, and only that is accepted as historical which accords with the events pre-determined by this subjective standard. No more arbitrary, uncritical and falsely philosophical scheme could well be devised.

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* A good illustration of the one-sidedness of the Grafian school is seen in the *Encyclopaedia Biblica,* notably in the article "Hexateuch" (Wellhausen-Cheyne), which, while noticing various writers of inferior rank, omits all reference whatever, even in the literature, to Dillmann, the chief opponent of Wellhausen. The vision of not a few American Grafians is equally narrow. And yet the great French Semitist, Joseph Halévy, said of August Dillmann: *"Il est sans contredit le premier exegete de notre siecle."* (*Revue Sem.* V., p., 313).

Such is Grafianism, German, and American. It is forced by the nature of its premises to regard as unhistorical, unauthentic and incredible all Old Testament laws, records and narratives which do not agree with the preconceived philosophy.

In the alternative view, God is in history and directs its course without either being pantheistically identified with the world or doing violence to the normal acts of his creatures. God, as the sole absolutely independent person, as the Creator of the universe of mind and matter, subordinates the laws of nature to his purpose and in a perfectly legitimate way influences man endowed with a relatively independent personality and thus held accountable as a moral agent. In this way both the transcendence and the immanence of God in the economy of the world, and the ethical freedom, and accountability of man are conserved. If we believe the Scriptures at all, it is certain that over the lower, temporal order of nature, there exists a higher, spiritual order. Conflict, confusion, disintegration characterize the merely natural and human course of events. A higher unity is attained only in the adjustment of human affairs by the Infinite Mind; the finite from the very nature of the case is limited and requires the interposition of the Infinite.

Accordingly, the writer holds that since the Bible has both a divine and a human side, the investigation of problems relating to the origin, authenticity and transmission of the books, is an entirely legitimate and indeed necessary undertaking. But much depends on the spirit and view-point of the investigator. The theist and the pantheist, starting from different premises, reach of necessity different conclusions. The view entertained here is, that a theistic conception of the universe guarantees the rights and freedom of true criticism. Since Old Testament criticism in its ever widening scope has come to include every kind of investigation, literary, historical, psychological, archæological, comparative and philosophical, and has invaded every department of thought in the search for light on the Old Testament, the writer refrains from using the phrase "higher critic" as an opprobrious epithet of a particular school (however much some extreme views may have served to bring the science into disrepute). Whoever inquires into the origin of the Pentateuch or of any book of the Bible is a "higher critic" in one sense or another.

The extent of the author's indebtedness to English, German and French authorities is acknowledged, at least in part, in the course of the work and in the Index of Authors at the close. His obligations, however, to two German writers are of such a character as to merit special notice: namely to Dr. Eduard Koenig, whose many timely and judicious works on the Old Testament have been a constant guide and inspiration; and to Dr. Mark Lidzbarski, whose various volumes on Semitic epigraphy were of invaluable aid in the preparation of chapters VII and IX.

The author desires, also, gratefully to acknowledge special indebtedness to several American friends and scholars: to Prof. John D. Davis, D. D., LL. D., Princeton Theological Seminary, for valuable suggestions on various points;* to Prof. Albert T. Clay, Ph. D., Assyriologist, Yale University, for an examination of the sections on Babylonian and Canaanite literature, and for expressions of opinion on topics in the field in which he is an authority; to Rev. M. G. Kyle, D. D., Egyptologist, Philadelphia, Pa., for reviewing the Egyptological sections and for the use of a fac-simile of the so-called Coffin Inscription (Col. VI, Chart); and to the writer's colleague in the Seminary, Rev. George Stibitz, Ph. D., D. D., Professor of Old Testament Languages and Literature and Semitic Philology, for a critical reading of the last two chapters.

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* Dr. Davis writes: "The subject is a timely one, there being enough recent material to make a new discussion opportune."

In the preparation of the Chart on the Origin of the Semitic Alphabet (at the close of the volume), liberal use was made of material supplied by Delitzsch, Lidzbarski, J. Euting and C. J. Ball.

It may yet be noted that this book is intended especially for those who study the Bible in English; hence matter of a purely technical character is relegated to the several excursus or to the foot-notes. For a similar reason it has been deemed sufficient to transliterate whatever words are reproduced from the Hebrew, Aramaic and other Semitic languages.

A. S. Zerbe.

Dayton, O.
August, 1911.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER I.

TWO THEORIES OF THE ANTIQUITY OF THE OLD TESTAMENT RELIGION.

I.

Fundamental Problems of Old Testament Science.

PAGE.

1. Three Underlying Problems. 1
2. The Preservation and Transmission of the Old Testament. ... 2
3. Transmission of Early Hebrew Literature and of the Pentateuch. 3
4. The Heart of Old Testament Criticism. 3

II.

Two Theories of the Antiquity of Hebrew Writing and Literature.

A. Nature of Hebrew Civilization in the Mosaic Age. 5
  1. A High Civilization. 5
  2. A Low Civilization. 6
B. The State of Writing among the Hebrews at the Exodus. 7
  1. Writing Known to the Hebrews. 7
  2. Writing not Known to the Hebrews. 8
C. Rival Theories of the Composition of the Pentateuch. 9
  1. The Traditional View. 9
    (1). Mosaic Authorship. 9
    (2). Unity and Integrity. 10
  2. The Anti-Traditional or Modern Critical View. 10
    (1). Moses not the Author of the Pentateuch. 10
    (2). Theory of the Codes. 12
      a. The Jehovistic Code. 12
      b. The Elohistic Code. 12
      c. The Deuteronomic Code, D. 12
      d. The Law of Holiness. 13
      e. The Priest Code, P. 13
      f. Manner of Combining the Documents. 14
      g. The Dillmann Hypothesis. 15
D. Original Transmission of the Early Books. 16
  1. Written Records. 16
  2. Oral Tradition. 17

PAGE.
E. History, or Legend. 18
  1. History, not Legend. 18
  2. Legend, not History. 19
F. Relation of Law and Prophecy. 21
  1. Law First, then Prophecy. 22
  2. Prophecy First, then Law. 22
G. God, Man and the Supernatural. 23

III.

Are the Traditional and the Anti-Traditional Positions Reconcilable?

1. Each School Regards its Position as Established. 24
  (1). Conservatives Firm in their Attitude. 24
  (2). Grafians Deem their Position Established Absolutely. . 24
2. Irreconcilable Antagonism. 25
3. Possibility of Mediating Position. 26

CHAPTER II.

THE LOWER AND THE HIGHER CRITICISM OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

I.

The Lower Criticism.

A. Criticism in General. 27
B. Kinds of Criticism. 28
C. The Lower and the Higher Criticism in General. 29
  1. Lower or Textual Criticism. 29
  2. Higher or Literary Criticism. 29
D. The Need of Textual Criticism. 30

II.

The Higher Criticism of the Old Testament.

A. Province of the Higher Criticism. 31
  1. Age and Authorship. 31
  2. Integrity. 32
  3. Credibility. 32

PAGE.
B. Higher Criticism Illustrated from the Book of Joel. 33
  1. The Style and Language. 33
  2. The Historical Situation. 34
  3. Inferences and Deductions. 34

C. The Name and Nature of the Science. 35
  1. Literary Criticism. 35
  2. Historical Criticism. 36
  3. Literary-Historical Criticism. 36

D. The Method of Old Testament Higher Criticism. 37
  1. The Literary Method or Argument. 37
    (1). Vocabulary and Style. 37
    (2). Value of Argument from Style. 38
  2. The Historical Method or Argument. 39
    (1). Direct Inference. 39
    (2). Proof from Subject-Matter. 40
    (3). Argument from Anachronisms. 40
    (4). Argument from Silence. 41
      a. Matter Foreign to Plan. 41
      b. Omissions. 41
  3. The Theological Method or Argument. 41
    Cumulative Value of three Methods. 42

E. Principles and Method of Present Inquiry. 42
  First Principle: Essential, not Absolute Historical Certainty. 42
  Second Principle: A Document Genuine until Spuriousness Established 43

CHAPTER III.

THE SEMITIC PEOPLE AND LANGUAGES.

I.

The People.

1. Preliminary Statements. 45

2. Character and Influence of the Semites. 45
  (1). The Babylonians. 46
  (2). The Assyrians. 46
  (3). The Aramæans. 46
  (4). The Southern Semites. 47
  (5). The Amorites. 47

PAGE.
3. Original Home of the Semites. 47
4. Home of the Northern Semites. 48
5. Light on the Old Testament from Semitic Sources. 49

II.

Semitic Languages and Systems of Writing.

1. The Semitic Family of Languages. 49
2. The Hebrew Language. 50
    (1). Origin of Hebrew. 50
    (2). Antiquity of the Hebrew Language. 51
3. Definition of Writing. 52
4. *Excursus:* Cuneiform or Babylonian-Assyrian System of Writing. 52
    (1). General Character of Cuneiform Script. 53
    (2). Ideograms and Phonograms. 53
    (3). The Babylonian Scribe. 54
    (4). Priests as Scribes. 54
    (5). Babylonian Syllabaries. 55
5. *Excursus:* Egyptian Writing. 55
    (1). Pictorial and Ideographic. 55
    (2). Phonetic and Syllabic Stage. 56
    (3). Determinatives. 57
    (4). Selected Syllables or Letters. 57
    (5). Knowledge of Writing among the Common People. .. 57
6. No True Alphabet Prior to the Phœnician. 58

CHAPTER IV.

ANTIQUITY OF WRITING AND LITERATURE IN EGYPT, BABYLONIA AND CANAAN.

I.

Excursus: Antiquity of Egyptian Writing and Literature.

1. The Old Empire. 59
2. The Middle Empire. 60
3. The New Empire. 61

II.

Excursus: Antiquity of Babylonian-Assyrian Literature.

PAGE.
A. Assyrian Literature. 61
B. Babylonian Literature. 62
  1. Immense Extent. 62
  2. Poetical Literature. 63
    (1). Creation Epic. 63
    (2). Gilgamash Epic. 63
    (3). Story of the Deluge. 63
  3. Prose Literature. 63
    (1). Historical Literature. 63
    (2). Legal Literature. 64
      The Hammurabi Code. 65
    (3). Epistolary Literature. 66
    (4). Religious Literature. 66
    (5). Anonymity of Babylonian-Assyrian Literature. 66

III.

Civilization and Literature in Canaan in the Pre-Mosaic Period.

A. The Tell el Amarna Tablets. 67
B. The Historical Situation in Palestine in 2500-1400 B. C. 18
  1. Early Egyptian Influence. 68
  2. Semites in Palestine. 69
  3. Cassite, Canaanite and Mitannian Inroads. 70
  4. Egyptian Supremacy. 71
C. A Native Palestinian Literature from Early Times. 71
  Amorite Literature. 73

CHAPTER V.

EXTENT AND ANTIQUITY OF HEBREW LITERATURE.

A. Hebrew Literature in the David-Josiah Period. 76
  1. The Writing Prophets. 76
  2. Historical Literature. 77
  3. Poetical Literature. 78
B. Hebrew Literature in the Pre-Davidic Period. 79
  Writing in the Mosaic Age. 80
C. The Problem of the Date of Origin and Introduction of the Phœnician Alphabet. 81

CHAPTER VI.

THEORIES OF THE ORIGIN OF THE PHOENICIAN ALPHABET.

PAGE.
Importance of the Subject. 83

Excursus: Historical Resume. 84
- 1. The Phœnician Origin. 84
  - (1). Dissemination by the Phœnicians. 84
  - (2). Did the Phœnicians Invent the Alphabet? 85
- 2. Egyptian Origin. 85
  - (1). Egyptian Hieratic. 85
  - (2). Egyptian Hieroglyphic. 87
- 3. Hittite Origin. 87
- 4. The Cuneiform Hypothesis. 89
  - (1). The Neo-Assyrian. 89
  - (2). The Old Babylonian. 89
- 5. Aramaic Origin. 90
- 6. Cretan or Cypriote Origin. 91

CHAPTER VII.

EARLY SEMITIC INSCRIPTIONS.

I.

North-Semitic Inscriptions.

A. Semitic Inscriptions and the Old Testament. 93
- 1. Importance of Epigraphy and Palæography. 93
- 2. Number of Semitic Inscriptions. 93
- 3. Semitic Inscriptions in General. 94

B. The Phœnician Inscriptions. ....
- 1. The Moabite Stone. 95
- 2. The Baal Lebanon Inscription. 96
- 3. Hassan Bey-li. 97
- 4. Nora Inscriptions. 97
- 5. Abu Simbel. 97
- 6. Assyrian Lion-Weights. 98
- 7. Abydos. 98
- 8. Byblos. 98
- 9. Tabnith and Eshmunazar. 98
- 10. Deductions. 99

PAGE.
C. The Aramaic Inscriptions. 100
  1. The Zakar Inscription. 101
  2. The Hadad. 104
  3.. The Panammu Inscriptions. 104
  4. Bar-Rekub. 105
  5. Nerab. 106
  6. Lion-Weight of Abydos. 106
  7. Lamas. 106
  8. Teima. 106
  9. Characteristics of Aramaic Script. 107

D. Archaic Hebrew Inscriptions 108
  1. The Siloam Inscription. 108
  2. The Gezer Calendar Tablet. 109
  3. The Jeroboam Seal. 112
  4. The Samaria Ostraca. 114
  5. Other Archaic Hebrew Inscriptions. 116
  6. Importance of Seals in Ancient Times. 116
    (1). The Egyptian Seal. 117
    (2). Babylonian Seal. 117
    (3). Hebrew Seals. 118
  7. Archaic Hebrew Seals. 118
    (1). Shemayahu Seal. 119
    (2). Obadiah Seal. 119
    (3). Shebaniah. 119
    (4). Abijah Seal. 119
    (5). Ustinow Seal. 119
    (6). El-Siggeb Seal. 120
    (7). Joshua Seal. 120
    (8). Haggai Seal. 120
    (9) Hananiahu Seals. 120
    (10) Masseyahu Seal. 120
    (11). Ancient Scarabæoid. 120
    (12). The Hareph Seal. 121
  8. Other Early Hebrew Seals. 121
  9. Later Archaic Hebrew Inscriptions. 121

E. Comparison of Phœnician, Aramaic and Archaic Hebrew Script. 122

II.

South-Semitic or Arabic Inscriptions. 123

CHAPTER VIII.

INTRODUCTION OF THE PHOENICIAN ALPHABET INTO GREECE.

PAGE.
A. Early Greek History and Civilization. 127
  1. The Pre-Hellenic Period. 127
  2. Writing Earlier than Inscriptions. 127
  3. Testimony of Early Greek Authors. 128
  4. The Cretan Script. 129
B. Origin of the Greek Alphabet. 130
C. Evidence of the Greek Inscriptions. 131
  1. The Abu Simbel Record. 132
  2. The Thera Inscriptions. 133
  3. Summary of Results from Inscriptions. 134

CHAPTER IX.

EXCURSUS: PROVISIONAL THEORY OF THE ORIGIN OF THE SEMITIC (PHOENICIAN) ALPHABET.

A. Delitzsch Theory of Babylonian Origin. 137
B. Names and Forms of the Phœnician Letters. 138
  1. The Problem of the Letter-Names. 138
  2. Meaning of the Disputed Letters. 139
  3. Theories of the Letter-Names and Forms. 140
C. The Astro-Mythological Hypothesis. 142
D. Semites and Semitism in Egypt. 143
  1. The Hyksos in Egypt. 143
  2. Egyptian Language Semitized. 143
E. Canaanite-Phœnician Origin of the Alphabet. 144
  1. The Phœnicians in History. 144
  2. Relation with Egypt in Early Times. 144
  3. Bearing on Phœnician Origin. 145
  4. Influence of the Egyptian Hieratic. 145
  5. The Abridged Egyptian Syllabary. 147
  6. Phœnicians Drew from all Quarters. 147
  7. Direction of Writing. 149
  8. Non-Adoption of Phœnician Script by Babylonians and Assyrians. 149

CHAPTER X.

DATE OF ORIGIN OF THE PROTO-PHOENICIAN AND THE PHOENICIAN ALPHABET.

I.

PAGE.
Proto-Phœnician Alphabet, 2000-1500 B. C. 150
  1. The Sinai Scribings. 152
  2. Summary. 153

II.

Phoenician Alphabet, 1500 B. C.

A. Principles of Alphabetology. 154
  1. Alphabets Grow. 154
  2. Law of Correlative Variation. 154
  3. Adoption of Foreign Script. 155
  4. No Absolute Sameness of Development. 155
B. The Three Types of the North-Semitic Alphabet. 156
C. Relation of North and South Semitic Alphabets. 156
D. Origin of Semitic (Phœnician) Alphabet *circa* 1500 B. C. 158

CHAPTER XI.

THE SCRIPT AND THE LANGUAGE OF THE EARLY OLD TESTAMENT BOOKS.

1. The Ground Covered thus Far. 160
2. The Ground Still to be Covered. 160
3. Nature of the Problem. 161
A. The Script Employed by the Hebrews after Ezra. 162
  1. Writing in Square Characters. 162
    (1). Epigraphic Testimony. 162
    (2). Testimony of Talmudists and Fathers. 162
  2. Indeterminateness of Date. 163
B. Phœnician Script Employed by Hebrews from Date of Exodus. 163
  1. The Script from 900 to 400 B. C. 163
    (1). Evidence from Seals. 164
    (2). Pre-Exilic Seals. 164
    (3). Longer Archaic Hebrew Inscriptions. 164
      a. Proof from the Gezer Calendar Tablet. 165
      b. Evidence from the Jeroboam Seal. 165
      c. The Samaria Inscriptions. 165

PAGE.
2. The Hebrew Script between 1350 and 900 B. C. 166
  (1). A Suitable Script Necessary. 167
  (2). No Transition in the Script. 167
  (3). Early Adoption of Phœnician Script. 168
  (4). Phœnician Script among Surrounding People. 168
  (5). Moses and the Minæan Alphabet. 169
  (6). Phœnician Script Long a *Scriptura Privata* 170
  (7). Phœnician Alphabet Known to Hebrews in Moses-Joshua Age. 171
  (8). How the Hebrews Acquired the Phœnician Script. . 172

C. The Hebrews and the Egyptian Language and Script. 173
1. Hebrews Learned the Egyptian Language and Script. 173
2. Was the Egyptian Script Employed in Writing Hebrew? . 173
3. Literary Attainments of Moses. 174
4. Was the Law Originally Written in Egyptian Hieratic? ... 175
  (1). Size and Weight of Original Tablets of Law. 176
  (2). No Evidence of the Use of the Hieratic. 177

D. The Hebrews and the Babylonian Language and Script. 178
1. The Library Chest of Tell Taanach. 178
2. The Gezer Cuneiform Tablets. 179
3. Babylonian Language in Use in Israel. 180
  (1). Babylonian Language During Exile. 181
  (2). Babylonian Language among Hebrews in Assyrian Period. 182
    a. Had the Hebrews ever a Hieratic Script? 183
    b. Babylonian-Assyrian Language in Israel. 184
    c. Winckler Hypothesis. 185
      (a). Winckler on Isaiah 8: 1. 186
      (b). Winckler on Jer. 32: 10. 186
  (3). No Babylonian Influence in Early Regal Period. . . 187
4. Early Old Testament Books in Cuneiform. 187
  (1). Conder's Argument from Proper Names. 188
  (2). Hebrew Text Paraphrased from an Assyrian Original. 189
5. Assyrian and Hebrew Languages Side by Side. 191

CHAPTER XII.

THE ANTIQUITY OF HEBREW LITERATURE.

I.

Hebrew Civilization in the Pre-Davidic Period.

PAGE.

A. Are the Genesis Narratives Sagas and Legends, or Authentic History? 193

B. Hebrew Civilization from Abraham to Joshua. 196
  1. Were the Hebrews Nomads? 197
    (1). Agriculture in the Genesis Narratives. 197
    (2). The Hebrews as Semi-Nomads. 199
    (3). Tent-Life in Semi-Nomadic State. 200
    (4). The Agrarian Laws of the Book of the Covenant. 201
  2. The Hebrews at the Exodus Prepared for Mosaic Legislation. 202
    Contact with Egyptians. 202

C. Hebrew Civilization in the Period of the Judges. 204
  1. The Books of Joshua and Judges. 204
    (1). The Book of Joshua. 204
    (2). The Book of Judges. 205
  2. Relation of Hebrews and Canaanites in Period of Judges. 208
    (1). Later Canaanites Low Morally and Religiously. ... 209
    (2). Hebrews Morally and Spiritually Superior to Canaanites. 210
    (3). Hebrew and Canaanite Civilization Compared. 211

II.

Books and Scribes in the Old Testament.

1. Early Use of the Word Book in the Old Testament. 214

2. The Scribe in Ancient Israel. 215
  (1). A Scribe or Writer in General. 215
  (2). An Enroller or Muster-Master. 216
  (3). One Skilled in the Sacred Books. 216
  (4). The Shoter. 216
  (5). The Chartom. 217
  (6). The Mazkir. 217
  (7). The Tiphsar. 217
  (8). Jeremiah and the Scribe Baruch. 217

III.

Literature in the David-Solomon Period.

PAGE.
1. David's Lament over Saul and Jonathan. 218
2. David's Letter to Joab. 218
3. The Scribe Seraiah. 219
4. Psalms of David. 219
5. David's Last Prophetic Words. 220
6. Other Writings of David. 220
7. The History of Samuel the Seer. 221
8. The History of Nathan the Prophet. 221
9. The History of Gad the Seer. 221
10. The Chronicles of King David. 222
11. The Book of the Acts of Solomon. 222
12. The Lost Proverbs of Solomon. 222
13. Summary. 223

IV.

Pre-Davidic Literature.

1. The Book of the Wars of Jehovah. 224
2. The Book of Jashar. 226
3. Jotham's Parable. 228
4. Writing in Gideon's Age. 229
5. Deborah's Triumphal Ode. 230
6. The Marshal's Staff. 232
7. Kiriath-Sepher or Book-Town. 233
8. Writing in Joshua's Time. 234
    (1). Copying of the Law. 234
    (2). Distribution of the Territory. 235
9. Literature in the Mosaic Age. 236

CHAPTER XIII.

THE ANTIQUITY OF HEBREW LITERATURE (Continued).

A. Ancient Strata in the Pentateuch. 238
    1. Old Hebrew Records. 238
    2. Pre-Mosaic Strata. 239
    3. Abraham and Cuneiform Tablets. 240
        (1). Ur a Literary Center. 240
        (2). Religious Motives in the Migration. 241
        (3). Early Sacred Records. 242
        (4). Canaanite Libraries. 244

PAGE.
4. The Antiquity of Genesis XIV. 245
    (1). Identification of Persons and Places. 246
    (2). Historic Background of Gen. XIV. 247
        a. Grafians Regard the Chapter as Legendary. .. 247
        b. Historical Character of the Chapter. 248
        c. Early Babylonian-Canaanite Source. 248
        d. Abraham and Early (Hebrew) Records. 250

B. Written Sources of Sinaitic Legislation. 250
    1. Mosaic Origin of the Decalog. 251
    2. The Book of the Covenant. 252
    3. The Little Book of the Covenant. 254
    4. The Memorial against Amalek. 254
    5. The Song of Moses and Miriam. 255
    6. The J and E Codes Ancient. 256

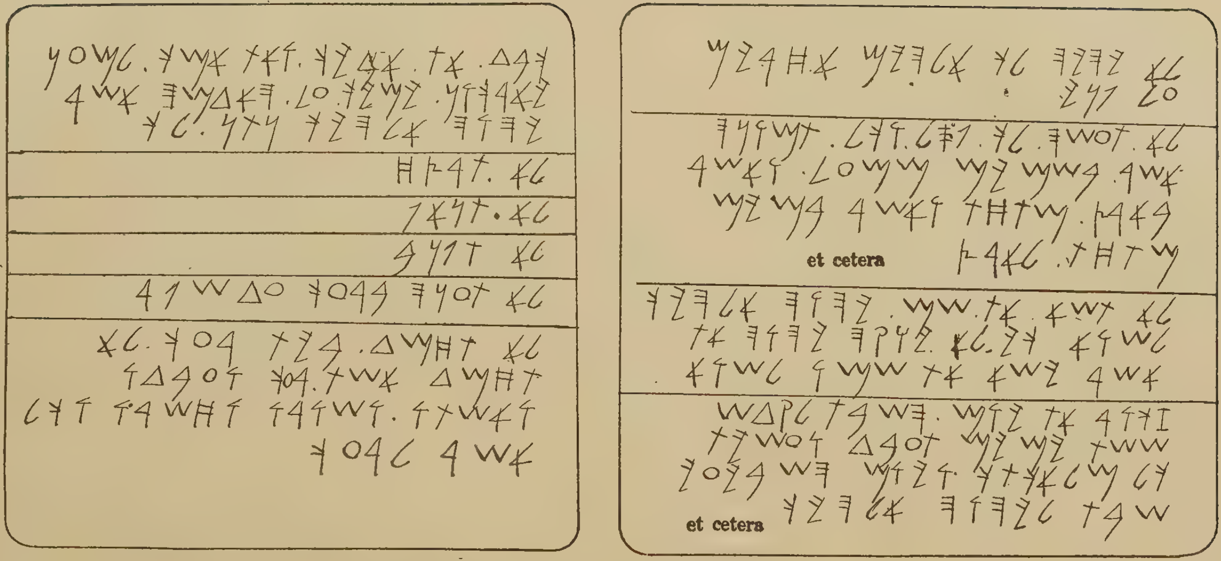
C. The Problem of the Book of Deuteronomy. 256
    1. Dilemma of Criticism. 256
        (1). A Pious Fraud. 257
        (2). Imaginative Revivification of the Past. 257
    2. Language and Style. 258
    3. Historical Situation that of Mosaic Age. 259
    4. No Reference to Jerusalem. 260
    5. Moses Represented as Author. 260
    6. Antecedent Probability of Mosaic Basis. 261
    7. Alleged Anachronisms and Contradictions. 262
    8. The Closing Chapters. 264
        (1). The Song of Moses. 264
        (2). The Blessing of Moses. 265
    9. Ancient Strata in Deuteronomy. 266
    10. The Transmission of Deuteronomy. 267

D. The Problem of the Priest Code. 269
    1. Graf-Wellhausen Philosophy of History. 269
    2. Graf-Wellhausen Hypothesis of the Priest Code. 270
    3. The Central Place of Worship. 271
    4. Sanctuaries in Time of the Judges. 273
    5. Theory of Sacrifice. 273
    6. Special Features of the Priest Code. 274
        (1). The Language and Style of P. 274
        (2). The Material of P. 274
        (3). The Literary Sources of the Priest Code. 275

PAGE.
7. Arguments Unfavorable to a Post-Exilic Date. 276
  (1). P Unsuitable to a Late Date. 276
  (2). The Account in Neh. VIII-X. 277
8. Ezekiel and the Priest Code. 277
9. Date of the Priest Code. 278
  (1). Dilemma of the Graf-Wellhausen School. 278
  (2). Traces of P in D and other Books. 279

E. Summary on the Origin of the Pentateuch.

1. Theory of Documents. 280
2. Codes Based on Ancient Sources. 280
3. Pentateuch Essentially Mosaic. 281
4. Employment of Scribes and Amanuenses. 281
5. A Fourfold Record. 282



The Ten Commandments in Archaic Hebrew Script

CHAPTER I.

TWO THEORIES OF THE ANTIQUITY OF THE OLD TESTAMENT RELIGION.

I.

FUNDAMENTAL PROBLEMS OF OLD TESTAMENT SCIENCE.

I. THREE UNDERLYING PROBLEMS.

At the threshold of Old Testament science three fundamental questions demand consideration: 1, the origin, age and credibility of the various books; 2, the collection and acceptance of the writings as authoritative and inspired; and, 3, their preservation and transmission; or, the problems of the Literary, popularly called, the Higher Criticism; of the formation of the canon; and of the Lower, or Textual Criticism. It is theoretically possible to regard these subjects as distinct, but practically they overlap at many points. The question of origin may be treated from a purely literary viewpoint, without reference to, or acknowledgement of, a divine side in the writings. It is obvious that such a method must issue in a denial of any distinctively supernatural element in the Old Testament. On the other hand, a critic who accepts the theistic philosophy with all that it implies in the way of divine intervention in human history, as by revelation and inspiration in the special sense, will see in the Old Testament a consistent and perfectly articulated system of religion mediated by divinely chosen agents. In either case a philosophy of history is the point of departure and determines the result.

A man who does not believe in a special revelation from God or in the special inspiration of the Old Testament must of necessity regard the Old Testament as essentially an evolution of the human mind. For such a one the second question, that of the canon, loses its distinctive character and is swallowed up in the first (e. g. Ryle and Wildeboer). The books of the Old Testament under this view (here regarded as false) are not in their nature specifically God-derived, but came gradually, through the law of the survival of the fittest, to be regarded as worthy of preservation. The problems of the literary criticism and of the canon of the Old Testament are therefore of a fundamental character and must be solved one way or another by every serious student of the Old Covenant.

2. THE PRESERVATION AND TRANSMISSION OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

The task before us is, however, of a somewhat different nature. We may ask, why the Christian world assumes the undoubted antiquity and essential correctness of the Hebrew Scriptures. How do we know that the books of the Old Testament, written, some of them, thirty, others twenty-five centuries ago, have been transmitted to us in anything like a pure state? The literary critic has no little difficulty in showing that we have Shakespeare's Plays or Chaucer's Canterbury Tales in their original form. These are modern works. The argumentation is more complicated if we are challenged to prove that the Latin and Greek classics, as Virgil's Aeneid or Homer's Iliad, were faithfully copied for a thousand years. Less difficult on account of the numerous manuscripts, but nevertheless demanding the most accurate research, is the task of ascertaining the true text of the New Testament.

The Old Testament problem is vastly more intricate. The labors of the scribes, Talmudists and Massoretes in the preservation of the Hebrew Bible and the testimony of the Septuagint Version (285-150 B. C.) enable us to determine the text with a considerable degree of assurance from the time of Ezra (458 B. C.) onward. But for the period between David and Ezra the material at command for a history of the then existing sacred books is scanty and indirect. Unfortunately, we have no very ancient papyrus or parchment rolls, nor any inscriptions on stone or stucco containing the Old Testament or any part of it; and the oldest extant manuscripts of the Septuagint date from the fourth, and the oldest Hebrew manuscripts from the tenth, possibly from the ninth century of our era.[1] For the period between Moses and David we are in a still worse strait, so far as concerns original and ancient sources, since not even a single verse is attested by any tablet or inscription coming down from those remote times; and the line of proof is exceedingly difficult and involved. The question of the preservation and transmission of the Old Testament in the pre-Ezraic period, though uniformly overlooked in recent books on the Old Testament, is of fundamental importance. Weakness here is weakness along the whole line.

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[1] It is not denied that by a tedious process of indirect proof we can establish the essential correctness and credibility of the Old Testament; the reference in the text is to the non-existence of documents actually written in that early age.

3. TRANSMISSION OF EARLY HEBREW LITERATURE AND OF THE PENTATEUCH.

Limiting ourselves, however, to a still narrower field, we inquire how the early, or pre-Davidic literature was preserved and transmitted originally. Through what channels could the legislation of Moses have come down to us in a fairly correct state? Our investigation is confined to the original transmission and transcription of the first half dozen books of the Bible. Within this area the underlying problems, not merely of the Lower, but also of the Higher Criticism, must be settled. Unless it can be shown that scribes, writing material and a suitable language and script existed in the Mosaic age, every theory of the composition of the Pentateuch in the Mosaic age floats in the air. The existence of these conditions in the age in question does not of course prove that Moses had any share in the composition of the Pentateuch; it shows merely the external possibility; but the non-existence of such conditions would render the traditional view of the Mosaic authorship untenable. "If the foundations be destroyed, what can the righteous do? (Ps. 11 : 3)".

4. THE HEART OF OLD TESTAMENT CRITICISM.

The scope and gravity of the subject will be apparent upon slight reflection. The first eleven chapters of Genesis treat of the period from the creation to the call of Abraham *(circa* 8,000 to 2,000 B. C.); the remaining chapters carry the narrative to the close of the life of Joseph. Then come the events of the Exodus. In the books of Joshua and Judges, the occupation of Canaan and the rule of the Judges, embracing the whole period from Joshua to Samuel, are narrated.

What proof have we that the narratives, miracles, revelations recorded in these seven books were written down contemporaneously, or nearly so, with the events, and not transmitted orally many centuries, and then in a greatly modified form reduced to writing? It is of course important to know that in the post-Ezraic period the Old Testament was carefully guarded, but unless we have a safe footing for the pre-Davidic period and can show that the early books (*i. e.* the assumed early books) have come down to us in a pure and authentic form, the very foundation is removed from the whole superstructure. It is of the highest importance to ascertain by what process the accounts of the creation, fall, flood, call of Abraham, sojourn in Egypt, the Exodus, the giving of the law and the period of the Judges, came to assume their present form. Were they transmitted orally five hundred, or a thousand years, or were they reduced to writing at an early date? The country is flooded with books on "Introduction to the Old Testament", "How We Got our Bible" and "Translations of the Scriptures", and so on, but they, one and all, pass hurriedly over the primitive period and describe minutely the transmission of the Old Testament after it had reached a fixed form at the hands of later scribes.[2]

Doubtless the chief reason why the whole subject is hastily brushed aside by writers of the conservative and radical schools alike, or allowed to rest on mere assertion, is that here we enter the very heart of Old Testament criticism, textual, literary, historical and comparative, a field in short, of which every inch is disputed territory. Progress can be made only by examining anew each contested point and settling it one way or the other by the weight of evidence and logical inference. But even then the difficulty increases, for each investigator approaches the subject with a bias (literary, or theological) and may draw conclusions deemed unwarranted by fellow workers in the same field. Nevertheless, the historical, archæological and epigraphical material accumulating in recent years has reduced the problem to more definite and tangible limits, and encourages the hope that the transmission of the Old Testament Scriptures may be placed upon a more scientific and satisfactory basis than exists today.

The time would seem to be ripe for a somewhat extended consideration of the transmission, whether oral or written, of the oldest parts of the Old Testament, or at least a presentation of the available evidence, for the benefit of the general student of the Old Testament who may not have the resources at command for a special investigation.

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[2] Of what avail is it to prove that during the last two thousand years the O. T. has been faithfully preserved, if we are unable to show even in general terms, how the Hebrews originally obtained and transmitted the early O. T. books?

II.

TWO THEORIES OF THE ANTIQUITY OF HEBREW WRITING AND LITERATURE.

At the outset we encounter two extreme and contradictory theories of the antiquity of Hebrew writing and literature. Before the rise of the so-called Higher Criticism it was held almost universally that Moses wrote the Pentateuch. In recent times, however, the view has been advanced and is accepted by a large body of scholars, that Moses practically had little or no share in the composition and writing of the Pentateuch. It is allowed that he was an historical personage and probably promulgated a system of laws; but it is denied that the extant Pentateuch emanated from him. To understand the nature and scope of the problem, it is necessary to state these opposing theories somewhat in detail.[3]

A. NATURE OF HEBREW CIVILIZATION IN THE MOSAIC AGE.

1. A High Civilization.

On the one hand it is maintained that the Hebrews at the Exodus had a tribal government, fixed institutions and trained leaders, and were far advanced in the arts of that day and the elements of ancient civilization. The Egyptians were at that time, as they had been for centuries, among the most cultured of ancient nations; and it is affirmed that the apt and quick-witted Hebrews must have assimilated the best elements of Egyptian culture and civilization. This view is defended by a large body of modern scholars. Thus Hengstenberg, denying that the Hebrews led a nomadic life in Egypt, says: "The foundation of the settled life was laid in the very first settlement. It was in the best and most fruitful part of the land that the Israelites received their residence, at least in part, Gen. 47: 11, 27. It is inconceivable that they should not have taken advantage of the excellent opportunity for agriculture which presented itself; and to participation in Egyptian agriculture was added participation in Egyptian civilization" *(Kingd. God under O. T., I, 236).* H. Ewald writes: "When it is related that Joseph obtained in marriage, Asenath, a daughter of Potiphera; Priest of On; and that Moses was brought up by a daughter of Pharaoh and therefore learned in all the wisdom of Egypt; when even Joseph's Egyptian title of rank and office is very faithfully preserved, Gen. 41 : 45, we have every reason to see in this only a few striking reminiscences of the strong influence of a people of ancient culture and established government upon a less cultivated nation associated with them" *(Hist. Isr. II, 4)*. Other writers, German and English, occupy the same view-point.[4]

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[3] In the absence of an entirely satisfactory nomenclature, we employ the terms *traditional* or *conservative,* and *anti-traditional* or *radical* for the two schools and stand-points. Lyman Abbott suggests the terms, ancient, theological, traditional for the one school, and modern, scientific, literary and evolutionary for the other. *(Life and Lit. of the Ancient Hebrews).*

2. A Low Civilization.

The other extreme, briefly stated, is that the Israelites at the date of the Exodus and in the three following centuries stood low in the scale of civilization and were largely dependent on the Canaanites for advancement in the arts. E. Reuss unequivocally affirms that the Hebrews at the Exodus were a rude horde. "Above all it is absolutely necessary to reject the view which represents the Israelites as constituting a body of people well organized, with a political constitution, a central government and enforced laws. Nothing of all this existed at first, and it is only little by little that these products of civilization affected a people whose physical condition presented a sense of need" *(Histoire des Israélites)*. J. Wellhausen affirms that it is "quite incapable of proof that Moses was indebted to the Egyptian priests for certain advantages of personal culture. . . . . . The story of Exodus 2: 1 is a mythus of frequent recurrence, to which no further significance is attached; that Moses was trained in all the wisdom of the Egyptians is vouched for by no earlier authority than Philo and the New Testament" *(Proleg. z. Gesch. Is.,* 410). B. Stade, a leading exponent of the anti-traditional view, denies in his History of the People of Israel and in his Biblical Theology of the Old Testament, that the activity of Moses was in any way influenced by the culture of the Egyptians.[5]

Dr. F. Hommel writes: "It is a cardinal article of belief among modern critics of the Pentateuch that the Hebrews of pre-Mosaic times were uncivilized nomads. . . whose religion consisted of . . . . a mixture of fetishism and Totemism. This view of the early beginnings of the Hebrew faith is one of the most vital factors in Wellhausen's system; it is at once the necessary conclusion to which his theories lead, and the actual basis and assumption on which they rest" *(Anc. Heb. Trad.,* p., 28).

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[4] Thus R. Kittel: "Arabia at that time was the home of comparatively settled people, with strongholds, towns and warlike chiefs. The mode of living was by no means lacking in advanced education and culture; but was thoroughly saturated with the elements of Babylonian and no doubt also of Egyptian life and thought" *(Babyl. Excav. and Early Bib. Hist., p., 6)*.

[5] In the latter work he says: "The contact of the Hebrew Beduins in the border province of Goshen with Egyptian culture and cults was too brief, and the national hatred between Egyptians and Hebrews too great, to admit of the alleged influence" (p., 38).

B. THE STATE OF WRITING AMONG THE HEBREWS AT THE EXODUS.

Here again we have two rival theories, the one affirming, the other denying, that writing was known to the Hebrews at the Exodus.

1. Writing Known to the Hebrews.

The great German scholar, Ewald, in his History of Israel, supports in detail the view that the Hebrews were familiar with writing in the Mosaic age. "It cannot be doubted that the Israelites could write during the time of their sojourn in Egypt. . . . . Only what was then written in Israel cannot have been very important — at any rate we have no trace of it. . . . . As to the Mosaic age, the most various and earliest reminiscences concur in representing it to have possessed the familiar use of writing. The two stone tables of the law are according to all evidences and arguments to be ascribed to Moses; but as the art of writing certainly cannot have commenced with the hardest writing-materials, nor its use been restricted to a few words on one single occasion, the unquestionable historical existence of these tables necessarily implies a diffusion of the knowledge of writing among the more cultivated portion of the people" (II p., 48). Prof. W. H. Green, of Princeton, writes: "If anything can be established by historical and monumental evidence, the law surely can be, which was graven on stones that were still extant in the time of Solomon" *(Heb. Feasts,* p., 169).[6]

A large and influential group of scholars are certain that the Hebrews must have been acquainted with the art of writing at the time of the Exodus.

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[6] So to the same effect: C. F. Keil, *Bib. Archaeol.* 11, 260; A. H. Sayce, *Lex Mosaica,* p., 6, and other works; E. C. Bissell, *Bib. Antiq.,* p., 14; A. J. F. Behrends, *O. T. under Fire,* 18; J. Orr, *Problem of the O T.* and *Bible under Trial,* p., 127.

2. *Writing not Known to the Hebrews.*

On the other hand an equally large and certainly more boastful school confidently affirm that writing was not known at all among the Hebrews of that period, or at any rate was not sufficiently far advanced for literary purposes.

E. Reuss, though not absolutely denying to Moses a knowledge of writing, is disposed to question it. "Even if Moses were highly educated, the Phœnician script was unknown in Egypt. Besides, no one writes books and laws except for people who can read and do read. Even allowing that Moses could write, the question arises for whom he could have written. Certainly not for his herdsmen, who living in Goshen could scarcely have had opportunity to practise reading; the Levites stood practically on the same plane" *(Gesch. d. Heil. Sch., p.*, 134). Reuss pertinently asks, what script Moses could have employed? If the Egyptian, then his successors must at some later date have exchanged it for the Phœnician. If the Phœnician, then we ask, whether he acquired a knowledge of it in Egypt (of which we have no evidence) or whether he perhaps invented it and carried it to the Phœnicians? In either case we are involved in a dilemma.

W. Vatke, the father of the philosophic presuppositions of the radical criticism of the Old Testament, in true Hegelian style, denies on *a priori* grounds that Moses had a knowledge of writing, claiming that such a view contravenes the laws of the evolution of history. He accordingly concludes that the Hebrews at the Exodus were illiterate nomads and of course had no knowledge of writing (*Relig. d. A. T.*, p., 179). Cornill says: "In the sense in which the historian speaks of knowing, we know absolutely nothing about Moses. All original records are missing; we have not received a line, not even a word, from Moses himself, or from any of his contemporaries; even the celebrated Ten Commandments are not from him, but, as can be proved, were written in the first half of the seventh century B. C. The oldest accounts of Moses are five hundred years later than his time" (*Proph. Israel,* p., 17). Prof. C. F. Kent writes: "About the same time [i. e. the ninth century] the Hebrew system of writing, which seems to have been an inheritance through the highly civilized Canaanites and Phœnicians, appears for the first time to have come into use. Pioneers struggling for homes have little need or time for literary pursuits. . . . . The conditions were first developed among the Hebrews after the establishment of the monarchy" (*Nar. Begin. Heb. Hist.*, p., 18).

The same position is held by most writers of the left wing of the anti-traditional school.[7]

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[7] See W. R. Smith, *O. T. in Jewish Church,* 297; Ruess, *op. cit.*, 96; R. Smend, *Alttest. Religionsgesch.*, pp., 9, 42; Nowack, *Heb. Archaeol.*, 287; Benzinger, *Heb. Archaeol.*, 288. Also 2. Aufl.

C. RIVAL THEORIES OF THE COMPOSITION OF THE PENTATEUCH.

Running parallel with the preceding contradictory views are two rival theories of the composition of the Pentateuch and of the immediately following books, theories which have called forth a spirited controversy. This controversy, carried on during the past half century and unquestionably the greatest and most significant of modern times, is designated variously as "Pentateuch Criticism", "Hexateuch Criticism", or "Literary and Historical Criticism of the Old Testament". We state the issue in the simplest terms.

1. *The Traditional View.*

Until within a comparatively recent period, Moses was almost universally regarded as the author of the Pentateuch substantially as it exists today. It was allowed that he may have used documents and employed amanuenses; but his approval of what the latter wrote, would render the work practically his own.[8] It is further alleged that Moses had access to genealogical tables, ancient records and even tablets in the cuneiform script brought by Abraham from Ur of the Chaldees and containing the essential data of the first eleven chapters of Genesis. Assuming that Moses was competent to write a book and that he wished to record God's wonderful dealings with the chosen people, a large body of scholars hold what mav be called the traditional view of the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch.

(1). Mosaic Authorship. Dr. E. C. Bissell says: "The positive and often repeated claim made in the Pentateuch itself for the Mosaic authorship in general has not only the emphatic, if somewhat exaggerated, external support of all authorities from his day downward, but also the incidental corroboration of a multitude of internal characteristies appropriate to his age"(*The Pent.,* p. 78). The uncompromising champion of the Mosaic authorship, the late Dr. W. H. Green, writes: "The Pentateuchal Law claims in the most unambiguous manner to have been given and recorded bv Moses. The general character of the legislation, and the terms in which it is conveyed, accord with this claim. . . . . Under any other view, the question must remain unanswered or land us in the most incredible of paradoxes" (*Moses and Prophets,* p. 344). Writers of this school make much of the language of Christ: "Christ's authority is as vital an element in the settlement of controverted matters respecting the Old Testament as is the science of history or the science of language. The appeal to Him in these Old Testament questions really corresponds to a reference to an axiom in mathematics, or to a first principle in morals" (Dr. Liddon, *Worth of O. T.,* p., 12). The Pulpit Commentary says: "That the Pentateuch is what it claims to be. *i. e.* of Mosaic origin, and given by inspiration of God, is here assumed. The book was according to the account it

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[8] Various passages originally of an editorial character, as Gen. 12: 6, 8; 13: 3; 36: 31; Ex. 16: 35; Deut. 17: 14-20; 34: 5-12, etc., are held to have been inserted later by competent authority.

gives of itself in the first instance compiled and written out by Moses" *(Introduction)*.[9]

(2). Unity and Integrity. The Mosaic authorship implies of course the unity and integrity of the Pentateuch. But some who deny that the Pentateuch proceeded from Moses allow that the composite work is characterized by unity of plan and purpose. As employed by conservatives, the term unity means the unity which springs from sameness of authorship and integrity the oneness and organic coherence which spring from a plan consciously formed and executed, and not the general unity which may exist between documents composed in different centuries and possessing some similarity of matter and form. The traditionalists are not satisfied with a unity of the latter sort, but insist stoutly that the Pentateuch is characterized by such a remarkable degree of unity and integrity as to exclude the theory of diversity of authorship.[10]

2. *The Anti-Traditional or Modern Critical View.*

The liberal critics affirm that the Hebrews were not in a position to cultivate literature in the Exodus period and that Moses did not write or compose the Pentateuch. They hold that the Hexateuch (*i. e.* the Pentateuch and Joshua) was compiled from various documents which arose gradually some six or eight centuries after Moses and professed to describe the early Hebrew history and the Mosaic institutions. These separate booklets or documents, drawn up largely on the basis of oral tradition, received additions from age to age until about 445 B. C., when a redactor or editor, taking the latest and most systematic of these documents as a skeleton or outline, and selecting from the different sources whatever accorded with his plan, brought together the scattered material into the composite whole known as the Hexateuch. This conclusion, presented here in the briefest terms, the Graf-Kuenen-Wellhausen school regard as established absolutely and without a peradventure as the result of the critical examination of the literary strata, the historical setting and the theological implications of the Hexateuch. The chief exponents are Reuss, Graf, Kuenen, Wellhausen, Stade, Cornill, Holzinger, Driver, Cheyne, Ryle, Briggs, and W. R. Harper. We summarize the arguments of a few of these critics.

(1). Moses not the Author of the Pentateuch. We present, first, the negative attitude, or the special considerations tending to show that Moses could not have written the Pentateuch; and, second, the positive or constructive arguments of the divisive critics, or their theory of the origin and nature of the Codes.

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[9] See also: W. H. Green, *Higher Crit. Pent*, p., 32, *Unity of Genesis, O. T. Canon*, etc.; D. Mac Dill, *Mosaic Authorship Pent.*, p., 257; Behrends, *op. cit.* p., 18; G. Vos, *Mosaic Orig. Pent. Codes*, 263; J. W. Beardslee, *Introd. to Old Test.*, 31; J. H. Raven, *O. T. Introduction*, pp., 85-128.

[10] "They [the divisive critics] explain the unity of plan by the skill of the final redactor and by his using the Priest Code, the most systematic and complete of the documents as the basis of his complete work. But this explanation is insufficient. . . . . It is claimed that the difficulties of accepting the story of its origin which has been made for us by the keen critical insight of a century of criticism, tax our credulity far more than the traditional view. This plan presents a mountain of difficulty for every mole hill which it removes and to all its specious arguments we reply, *non sequitur*" (J. H. Raven, *op. cit.*, p., 128).

It is generally conceded by the anti-traditionalists that Moses had some connection with the religion of Israel, but how much is a matter of dispute. Extremists regard him as a mythical character, but this opinion is not shared by the critics generally. The latter adopt some such view as that of Kuenen, who, while denying that Moses wrote a system of laws, assumes that an important place belongs to Moses in the history of his nation. His chief concern was to emphasize the national religion and to speak in the name of Jehovah. Practically all that he did was to show that Jehovah was Israel's God and Israel Jehovah's people. The Ten Commandments proceeded from Moses in the sense that "in the name of Jehovah he prescribed to the Israelitish tribes such a law as is contained in the Ten Words", but not in the sense that he received them from Jehovah at Sinai, or that the words actually spoken by him are the same as those in the Pentateuch *(Religion of Israel.)*.[11]

Wellhausen regards the religion of Israel as a natural development, hence little is left for the activity of Moses. "The religion of Israel is a slow growth out of heathenism; this is the substance of the history. . . . . It did not start with an absolute beginning" (*Is. und Jued. Gesch.*, p. 34). Ancient Israel had a few laws for the ordering of life, but "they were not fixed in writing" (*Proleg.* p. 401). The view-point of the extreme critics is voiced by Cheyne: "The questioning spirit revives when one is asked to believe that Moses is partly at least a historical figure. Alas! how gladly could one believe it! But where are the historical elements? . . . . Happily we are not asked to believe either in Moses or the decalogue" *(Introd. to R. W. Smith's Proph. Israel).*

The modern critical position is that Deuteronomy does not proceed from Moses. According to Graf, "The composition of Deuteronomy in the age of Josiah is one of the most generally accepted results of the historical criticisms of the O. T. for all who do not simply ignore these results" (*Gesch. Buech.* 11). Dr. W. R. Harper says: "We may safely deny the ascription to Moses of literary work of any kind, even the songs with which his name is connected (*e. g.* Ex. 15: 1-15; Deut. 32: 1-45; 33: 2-29) or the judgments and precepts of the Book of the Covenant and the decalogues of E and J" (*Amos and Hosea* p. LXXXVI).

Duhm states the position of the school in a nut-shell: "Nothing in fact is simpler than the Grafian Hypothesis: it needs only the transference of a single source, namely the Priest Code, into the post-Exilic time, into the period of Ezra and Nehemiah, and at one stroke the Mosaic period is *wiped out*".[12] The reader will see that this is the most revolutionary movement of the age.[13]

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[11] Reuss says: "We are compelled to affirm concerning the state of literature, that the only remains are fragments of poetry, which chance has spared from oblivion, and certain occasional allusions found in later historical narratives. . . . We affirm that we do not possess a single historical work in the authentic form in which it left the hand of its author" *(Histoire des Israélites,* 874).

[12] See also Holzinger: "We have no work of Moses, but a narrative from a later period" *(Einl.,* p., 7); "If anything is certain in O. T. criticism it is that the Pentateuch is not from the hand of Moses; he is not to be thought of as an author" (Marti, *Gesch.* 58). "If Moses wrote the Pentateuch, neither he nor

(2). The Theory of the Codes. The modern critical view of the origin of the Pentateuch, or the theory of the Codes, has assumed various forms, but in broad outline is as described below. Various distinct documents, it is alleged, underlie the Pentateuch, or rather the Hexateuch, for the critics find the same strands in Joshua as in the Pentateuch and include it in the discussion.

a. The J Code. The first of these documents, known as J, from its use of the word Jehovah for God, is assumed to have originated in the Southern Kingdom, Judah, about 850-650 B. C. The style is free, picturesque, poetical, anthropomorphic and predictive. "Of all the Hebrew historians whose writings have been preserved to us, J is the most gifted and the most brilliant. He excels in the power of delineating character" (Driver, *Gen. XIV.*). Since the writer assumes to know and reveal the plans of God and to think for Him (*e. g.* Gen. 2: 18-24; 6: 1-7) this document is regarded as distinctly prophetic. The critics now hold that J is a composite work starting with a nucleus J and receiving additions $\overset{1}{J}$, $\overset{2}{J}$, etc., from many hands during several centuries.[14]

b. The E Code. The second document, designated by the letter E, from its use of Elohim for God, is supposed to have been compiled in the Northern Kingdom about 800-700 B. C. In general character the original author of E does not differ widely from J, "but he does not exhibit the same rare literary power, he does not display the same command of language, the same delicacy of touch, the same unequalled felicity of representation and expression" (Driver, *Gen.*, p., XV). The stand-point of E is prophetical, though it is not brought so prominently forward as in J, "and in general the narrative is more objective, less consciously tinged by ethical reflection than that of J" (Driver, *Lit.* 111). "The general historical situation of the writers seems to be the same as in the case of J, namely, the period of the monarchy. But the general stand-point of E is unanimously conceded to be more advanced than that of J" (W. R. Harper, *Amos & Hosea*, p., LXXIX).[15]

c. The Deuteronomic Code, D. Another document, consisting mainly of the book of Deuteronomy, is designated in critical circles by D. $\overset{1}{D}$ denotes the kernel out of which D grew; $\overset{2}{D}$, $\overset{3}{D}$, $\overset{4}{D}$, denote later additions and changes. *Deuteronomist* means the author of the body of the book of Deuteronomy, whether merely chs. 12-26 inclusive, according to some critics, or chs. 5-26, according to others. The term *Deuteronomic* is applied to material in the body of Deuteronomy;

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any other for him took the usual method of securing credit for his work" (H. G. Mitchell, *World before Abraham*, p., 4).

[13] Our apology for quoting chiefly from German authorities is that they are the *fons et origo* of the whole modern critical movement. Even the most independent of their American followers and imitators draw their inspiration and arguments from the Germans.

[14] A few of the J passages in Gen. are: chap. 2: 4 to the end of ch. 4; 5: 29; 6: 1-7; 7: 1-5, 7-12, 16, 17, 22, 23; 8: 2, 3, 6-12, 20-22; 9: 20-27.

[15] The Dillmann school, however, hold that the stand-point of J is the more advanced. The letters J, E, P, D, etc., in the nomenclature of criticism stand indefinitely for both the author and the document. It is well that such is the case, for with all the resources of scholarship, the critics have not ventured, except in a few instances, to suggest who the mysterious writers may have been; hence the arbitrary symbols.

and *Deuteronomistic* to material wherever found in the style of the Deuteronomist. Various editors who are assumed to have revised Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings, etc. or their constituent parts, in the spirit of D, are denoted by R. Here the critical hypothesis of additions, modifications, redactions, and numerous strata is in full bloom.

In determining the date of D, the critics start with the account of the memorable discovery of "the book of the law" in the Temple in the eighteenth year of the reign of Josiah, 621, B C., as narrated in 2 Kgs. 22: 3-20. Josiah's law-book is alleged to be identical with D. "It cannot be shown to have included more than Deuteronomy" (Driver, *Deut.*, p., XLV). How much earlier than 621, D was composed is a matter of dispute among the divisive critics, the dates ranging between 721 and 621. Cornill says: "Shortly before 621"; Driver, "either the reign of Manasseh, or the early years of the reign of Josiah", Steuernagel, "between 720 and 650".[16]

d. The Law of Holiness, H. Another document, known as the Law of Holiness (Levit. 17-26), is designated by H. It was a compilation from earlier sources, but in its present form contains additions by the editor who incorporated it in the Priest Code. On account of its affinities with D, the Priest Code proper and Ezekiel 40-48, the analysts are perplexed as to the date and the circle of authorship. Driver places it shortly before the Exile, Cornill in the second half of the Exile, and Holzinger immediately after the Exile. "Its sources were pre-Exilic, and may be in part older than D" *(Benn, & Ad. Int.).*

e. The Priest Code, P. We come now to a document which has played an important rôle in Hexateuch criticism, namely the Priest Code, P. It includes some of the principal parts of Genesis, as 1: 1—2: 4; 5: 1-32; 6: 9-22, and long sections in other chapters; the greater part of Exodus and Numbers, all of Leviticus (except chs. 17-26) and a considerable part of Joshua, chs. 13-22. Starting with the creation and the Sabbath, it not only narrates the course of events to the division of Canaan among the tribes, but also presents a succinct and graphic account of the fundamental institutions of the Old Testament. The Germans call it, not inaptly, the Fundamental Code *(Grundschrift).* The question of its date and composition is therefore of far-reaching significance.

As in the case of the other documents, it was not the product of one man, or one age, but of many. Accordingly, the exigencies of up-to-date criticism require a series of symbols to denote the different strata. Thus P denotes either the Priest Code or any material by priestly writers; $\overset{1}{P}$ the Law of Holiness; $\overset{2}{P}$ the Priest Code proper; $\overset{3}{P}$, $\overset{4}{P}$, $\overset{5}{P}$, $\overset{X}{P}$, later additions to the Priest Code. Other sympols are $\overset{D}{R}$, editor who added D to JE; $\overset{P}{R}$, editor who combined JED and P, or later priestly editors who revised and retouched the Hexateuch and other historical books.[17]

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[16] "The Deuteronomic writers compose codes, exhortations to obedience; they provide earlier history with chronological framework and religious comment; only in Kings do they themselves write history" (Bennett and Adeney, *Introd.*, 50).

[17] The stylistic characteristics of P are marked, there being words, phrases and expressions found nowhere else or rarely in the O. T. The diction is systematic, rigid, chronological, stereotyped, as seen in the first chapter of Genesis:

The question of the age and authorship brings us to heart of Old Testament criticism. In common usage, P stands for the whole composite document compiled from $\overset{1}{P}$, $\overset{2}{P}$, $\overset{3}{P}$, down to $\overset{x}{P}$. As some of the latter are themselves based on earlier sources, which may have been used by different writers, the analysis seems finally to lose itself in an intricate and inextricable labyrinth. The critics are not agreed whether $\overset{1}{P}$ and $\overset{2}{P}$ were composed independently and then combined, or whether $\overset{1}{P}$ was merely the nucleus of the larger work P. In either case additions were made by later writers, and by the editor who combined them. Under such conditions the question of date and authorship has no definite meaning, for the developmental and evolutionary process is conceived of as extending over an indeterminate period of from three to eight centuries.[18]

Since H, otherwise $\overset{1}{P}$, is assumed to have affinities with Ezek. 40-48 (*circa* 585) and to have been composed during the Exile, critics generally hold that P, although containing more or less early material, is essentially an Exilic or post-Exilic work. Driver says: "P belongs approximately to the period of the Babylonian Captivity"; Holzinger, 'The very beginning of the fifth century", Wellhausen, 445 B. C. According to the Grafian school generally, P was composed in Babylonia after the Exile and combined with H before Ezra's mission to Palestine in 458. P, therefore, though receiving additions as late as 350 B. C. was practically complete in 445.[19]

f. Manner of combining the Documents. Assuming that these documents existed separately for a longer or shorter time, the Graf-Wellhausen school hold that somewhere in the seventh century, say, 650, a redactor, R, or editor, combined J and E into one work, or, more accurately, selected from each the material suited to his purpose, rejecting for the most part duplicate matter or whatever did not fall in with his plan. The result was a composite work JE.[20] From the peculiarities of language, historical and other statements, the critics profess to be able to restore the original sources or documents so far as preserved. Somewhat later, after 621, perhaps during the Exile, another editor combined D with JE, producing JED. Some critics, however, hold that one editor combined J, E, and D. Some time after the Exile, another Redactor combined H and the various priestly strata into the Priest Code proper. This code was published by Ezra in 445, B. C.

"Evening and morning were — day", "God saw that it was good", etc. "Both in method and literary style, P offers a striking contrast to either J or E. . . . . . His aim is to give a systematic view, from a priestly stand-point, of the origin and chief institutions of the Israelitish theocracy" (Driv. *Lit.*).

[18] Prof. G. F. Moore, an adherent of the Graf-Kuenen-Wellhausen scheme, remarks: "The result was the heterogeneous conglomerate which it is customary to call the Priests' Code" *(Ency. Bib.*, col. 2082).

[19] If P is thus late, the historical character of much of Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus and Numbers is of course blotted out. The average Bible student may well ask, What becomes of the credibility and inspiration of the Pentateuch under this view?

[20] Since J and E would not be destroyed at once, it is believed that they still circulated separately until finally superseded by the larger work.

(Kuenen). Somewhat later JED and P were combined into our Hexateuch.[21]

Collecting the various strata and fragments and employing the symbols of the critics, one obtains the following interesting literary and algebraic formula: $J+J^1+J^2+J^3+E+E^1+E^2+E^3+D+D^1+D^2+H+P+P^2+P^3+P^X+R+R^J+R^E+R^{JE}+R^D+R^P+R^{JEP}=$ Hexateuch.

To the average reader, unacquainted with the methods or supposed methods of ancient literary composition, such a theory of the origin of the Hexateuch is the climax of absurdity and its own sufficient refutation; to the twentieth century Old Testament critic, revelling in the study of Hebrew words and idioms, and assuming that Hebrew authors excerpted from their sources any suitable material, and modified and transposed at pleasure, such a procedure in the compilation of the Hexateuch is not only conceivable, but under the circumstances perfectly natural and legitimate.[22]

g. The Dillmann Hypothesis. It must be observed that though the above analysis is accepted by the great body of divisive critics, or the Grafians, as they are called, a scholarly and influential German school, headed by Dillmann, Kittel and Koenig, advocate a considerably earlier date for the documents, especially the Priest Code. Thus Kittel: "The oldest stratum, partly containing the groundwork of the Law of Holiness and partly that of P, may justifiably be placed in a comparatively early period, at any rate from that of Solomon downwards (tenth and ninth century") *(Hist. Hebrews,* I, 132).

On this hypothesis, P in its main texture is either the second oldest document, following E, or at least the third, following J, all of them preceding D. According to this view, E and P were united first, and J added at a later date; or, perhaps P was added after the union of E and J. Subsequently D was incorporated with JEP, yielding JEPD. The Pentateuch (Hexateuch) was therefore a complete work before the close of the Exile, and possibly before its beginning. In the Dillmann scheme, the component parts of the Pentateuch and the Pentateuch as a whole are conceived to be from one to three centuries older than in the Grafian.

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[21] The critics of the extreme left in reality hold that each of the above documents was originally a mere nucleus, which received additions from generation to generation by a kind of accretion, much as a heap of stones might be enlarged. Each code proceeded from a "school", each member thereof adding or eliminating matter at pleasure. The Codes, like Topsy, simply "grew", gradually and imperceptibly. Under such an hypothesis, authorship in the usual sense is out of the question.

[22] If the critics are right, the method of composition furnishes the most remarkable example in all literature, ancient or modern, of a work compiled from so many sources and by so many hands, and yet characterized by undoubted unity and homogeneity. Homer's Iliad, the Bible of the Greeks, has to be sure been similarly dismembered; but the most radical German critics have hesitated to dissect the Greek classic in any such style.

The sequence of the Codes and the manner of their combination differ considerably in the Grafian and Dillmann systems. If it should be found that P in its essential features antedates D, the whole Vatke-Kuenen-Wellhausen contention of a naturalistic evolution of the Codes from the Book of the Covenant (Ex. 20-33) to J, E, D and thence to P would be undermined at its supposed strongest point. Unless it can be shown that P is the latest Code, the evolution hypothesis cannot be carried through. The proposition that P contains very ancient written (and not merely oral) material and was compiled prior to D (*i. e.* from the critical stand-point) was elaborately defended by Dillmann; and in the judgment of an increasing number of competent scholars, his arguments have never been refuted.

It is evident that the anti-traditional, or critical view, under either form, is diametrically opposed to the traditional view; and if accepted necessitates an entire readjustment, if not abandonment of the old theory regarding the age, authorship and credibility of the Pentateuch.

D. THE ORIGINAL TRANSMISSION OF THE EARLY BOOKS.

If we ask how the earliest Biblical books were transmitted originally, we have again two opposite answers. By written records, according to one school; by oral tradition, according to another.

1. Written Records.

If writing was sufficiently far advanced in Israel to be employed for literary purposes, it is natural to suppose that there were scribes and writers who recorded the early and contemporaneous history. Accordingly, we find that the Hebrews, certainly from the date of the Exodus, and perhaps earlier, were in the habit of writing down matters of importance, especially religious laws and ordinances. It is held that such records were transmitted to later times in a substantially correct form and contained authentic and reliable history. According to the traditional view, not only were Moses, Joshua and their successors able to write and compose books, but they actually either composed or caused to be composed the early books of the Bible.

It is held further that the question of a written record is of fundamental import. "What would be the conceivable nature of revealed religion, without a record of facts? The briefest consideration convinces us, that either the whole nature of revelation must be essentially changed, or else a record of its historic process must somehow be preserved. To be sure the fact of supreme importance is the fact of revelation itself. But the very nature of revelation, if it is to take the form of an historical process, is such as to demand a record of that process" (Ladd, *Doc. Sac. Script.*, I, 737).

That such a record was actually made is the firm belief of the conservative school. Hengstenberg: "Moses was able faithfully to impart what had taken place before his eyes; and that he designed to relate the truth his whole character as it appears in his works is a guarantee; and even if he had not wished to do so, he must have done it, since he wrote first of all for those who had witnessed all the great events which he communicated" *(Kingd. God, etc.,* I, 30). "The Bible is through and through of historical nature and spirit" (Ewald). Fuerst, in his History of Hebrew Literature, maintains two propositions; *first,* that the accounts of the cosmogony, fall, flood, migration of the patriarchs, were written down in the patriarchal period; *second,* that the earliest Hebrew writing dates from a time prior to the Mosaic individualizing of the patriarchal religion" (p., 25).[23]

The conservatives to a man consider it vital to the credibility and integrity of the Pentateuch and of the other early books, that the revelation to Moses should have been preserved in permanent form, that is in written records, and not entrusted for safe-keeping merely to the somewhat fickle memory of men.

2. Oral Tradition.

In opposition to the foregoing view, the whole Grafian school, without any important exception, hold that, not written records, but oral tradition, formed the vehicle of transmission of the Hebrew books to the time of the Monarchy (1,000 B. C.). Wellhausen constantly emphasizes this point. "It can be shown that throughout the whole of the older period the Torah (Law) was no fixed legislative code, but consisted entirely of the oral decisions and instructions of the priests. . . . . Moses was not regarded as promulgator once for all of a national constitution, but rather as the first to call into activity the actual sense for law and justice, and to begin the series of oral decisions, which were continued after him by the priests" *(Proleg.* 458).

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[23] On Deut. 31: 24, Dr. W. H. Green says: "If it be possible for words to convey the idea that the entire code of laws here spoken of, which cannot be less than Deut. 12-26, was written by Moses, the idea is here expressed" *(Moses and Proph.,* 53). Canon R. B. Girdlestone, reviewing the historical elements in Ex. Levit. and Num., says: "It is natural to take them as made up of official documents, recorded at or about the time of the events narrated, and preserved in the sacred archives together with the patriarchal Book of Genesis. There is absolutely no literary difficulty in this view" *(Criticism Criticised).*

Wildeboer says: "Historical-literary criticism has shown that all the writings of the Old Testament without exception are in their present form post-Exilic. . . . . This is true also of their origin" *(Litt. d. Alt. Test.).* Cornill: "In the Biblical accounts the material has all gone through the medium of popular tradition. Until the beginnings of the Monarchy, all the historical recollections of Israel were handed down by word of mouth" (*Hist.,* pp., 4, 7). Prof. C. F. Kent champions this view at some length: "In the process of transmission these stories [i. e. Israel's traditions] were constantly being recast and supplemented. . . . . Contrary to the position sometimes maintained, it seems probable that most of the stories found in the first eight books of the O. T. originated before or during the age of song or story. . . . . Thus all the indications contained in Israel's history point to the century or two beginning with about 950 B. C. as the era when the oral traditions of an earlier age were collected and woven into connected groups of narratives" (*Begin. Heb. Hist.,* pp., 13, 17, 18).[24]

What is commonly called the Law of Moses is in the new view a series of oral decisions handed down by the lawgivers and judges from Moses to Samuel and finally written out in the centuries intervening between 900 and 400, that is from five to ten centuries after the Mosaic age.

E. HISTORY, OR LEGEND.

Here again the two schools entertain diametrically opposite views, the one maintaining that the matter in the Pentateuch and the early Old Testament books is in a true sense historical, the other that it is essentially unhistorical, or legendary.

1. History, not Legend.

On the basis of the evidence from the books themselves and from other sources, the traditional school maintains that the matter in the early Old Testament books is of an historical and trustworthy character and reflects events substantially as they occurred. If writing was employed by the Israelites for literary purposes in the period of the Exodus and later, if Moses and his successors wrote down laws and the essence of contemporary happenings, we have records, chronicles, journals as truly authentic and reliable as those at command for a history of the Crusades or of the Norman Conquest. If the material for the former is to be pronounced legendary, so also must the latter.

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[24] Elsewhere Kent says: "Up to this time [Saul's] the only records of the past appear to have been disconnected popular traditions, recounted beside the camp fire, in the secret of the harem, at marriage feasts, at the local sanctuaries, during the annual feasts, at the wells, or beside the city gates, wherever men and women were gathered together and the story-teller could find an audience" *(Israel's Hist. and Biograph. Nar.* p., 3). In other words Prof. Kent would have us believe that the first eight books of the O. T. are little more than Old Wives' Tales.

Hengstenberg writes: "All modern distinguished historians, as Niebuhr, etc., agree that the O. T. history is more authentic even in that which it relates concerning other nations than the most reliable native sources. If it be proved therefore that the historical books have in general a true historical value, and not a mythical character, we have no right to reject as mythical that which has reference to an extraordinary interference of God in nature, unless, like the heathen prodigies, it stands out as aimless and isolated" *(op. cit.)*. Fr. Delitzsch: "If history is critically annihilated, [as by the Grafians], what is left but to fill the *tabula rasa* with modern myths?" *(Com. Gen.,* I, 9).

Prof. S. Leathes says: "On the radical view not only are we uncertain as to what God said unto Moses, but we do not even know that he spoke to him at all. . . . . It is therefore all *moonshine* to say that if we destroy the form of the revelation, the fact remains untouched (Driver); because no fact at all remains, except so much as we choose to concede to popular prejudice, resting as it does in the mere oral revelation without any specific authority whatever" *(Claims of O. T.,* p., 30).[25]

Such is substantially the conservative position.[26]

2. Legend, not History.

The anti-traditional school declare that the narratives in the Pentateuch, Joshua and Judges are not strictly history, but legends, entertaining stories coming down from the past, but not verified by historical record.

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[25] Of the professional writers on O. T. History, Ewald, Hengstenberg, Koehler, Wm. Smith, Kurtz, Milman, Stanley, Sayce, Edersheim, Kittel, Klostermann, Lotz, Volck and Erbt occupy the traditional view-point; Reuss, Kuenen, Wellhausen, Stade, Cornill, Piepenbring, H. P. Smith, Winckler, Kent the opposite extreme.

[26] According to Bishop Hervey "The narrative contained in the Pentateuch is either absolutely true history, or a most skillful and elaborate fiction. The close connection between the parts, the coherence of the successive stages of the drama, etc., precludes the possibility of mere books containing a bundle of traditions or legends mingled with fragments of truth here and there" *(Lex Mosaica)*.

Here again the chief authorities are Kuenen, Wellhausen and Stade, to whom their American followers are largely indebted. Kuenen boldly avows his stand-point: "Our faith in Israel's own account of her career is at once severely shaken by the discovery that by far the greater number of those accounts did not proceed from contemporaries, but were written very long after the events of which they treat. . . . This applies especially to the accounts of the period of the Judges, the conquest of Canaan, the times of Moses and the patriarchs. . . . . Their principal element is legend" *(Relig. Is.,* p., 16-7). The word legend is the shibboleth of this school. Wellhausen in the Prolegomena rejects the traditional chronology of the books and claims that "to get even approximately at the truth we are shut up to an analysis of the contents". Under Wellhausen's manipulation little of an historical, much of a legendary character is found.[27] We do not attain, says Wellhausen, "to historical knowledge of the patriarchs, but only of the time when the stories about them arose among the Israelite people" (322). Abraham is not an historical person; "he might with more likelihood be regarded as a free creation of unconscious art" (323). The early chapters of Genesis do not rise even to the dignity of legend; they contain merely *myths.*[28] Wellhausen speaks of "the mythical stuff of the oldest world-history", "of the discoloration of the myths". and of "the mythical universal history", in Gen. I-XI. The accounts of the places of worship, Shechem, Bethel, Hebron, etc., are mere "culture myths". "Purely mythical elements are particularized in the wrestling of Jacob at the Jabbok" *(op. cit.,* pp., 320, 26-30-43). At the end of Wellhausen's dissecting process nothing of historical value remains in the Pentateuch. Joshua and Judges fare no better, for they have "neither definite aim nor true history.[29]

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[27] Wellhausen begins with Chronicles, which contains "a deliberate and in its motives a very transparent mutilation of the original narrative. . . . . . One might as well try to hear the grass grow as expect to find here definite knowledge of ancient Israel" *(op. cit.,* pp., 71, 215). W. scarcely allows to the Chronicler ordinary wit and honesty. He slashes into the other historical books in very much the same style.

[28] A myth is the creation of a fact out of an idea, a legend the seeing of an idea in a fact. The myth is purely the work of the imagination; the legend has a nucleus of fact.—*Stand. Dictionary.*

[29] In his "Israelitish and Judaic History", W. elaborates the above views. W. is regarded by the Grafians as having once for all established the impregnability of their position and silenced all cavil. His works are written in a charming

The anti-traditional view is clearly set forth by Prof. H. P. Smith. The Genesis narratives are for the most part *Sagas,*[30] which "circulate *orally* long before there is any written literature. They are products of the poetic imagination", and so have little historic value. "We have no really historical knowledge of a patriarchal period preceding Israel's conquest of Canaan. The individuals, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob are eponyms — personifications of clans, tribes or ethnological groups — and they are nothing more. . . . . . The nature of the information given by the stories is such that we cannot suppose it handed down by any valid historical process — family gossip known only to the immediate members of the family does not pass accurately from one generation to another for six hundred years or more. . . . . Our conclusion is that there is not sufficient warrant for supposing individuals Abraham, Isaac and Jacob to have been the ancestors of the people" *(O. T. History,* pp., 42, 48-50).[31]

German critics like Holzinger, Stade, Meinhold follow in the wake of Wellhausen. Meinhold writes: "The patriarchs are nothing more than the ideal Israel. . . . As to an historical outline, the patriarchal times fall away entirely" *(Wider d. Kleinglauben,* 23). The American wing of the anti-traditional school uniformly claim that the Pentateuchal narratives are largely legendary.[32]

F. RELATION OF LAW AND PROPHECY.

A similar antithesis exists between the two schools on the relation of the Pentateuchal laws and later prophecy. Was

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style and are classics in this field. His opponents charge that underneath the smoothly flowing sentences, there lurks a specious logic, a false historical method and an anti-Old Testament bias, which are but poorly concealed under the guise of candor. — It is astounding to what an extent a whole regiment of American writers swallow complacently any and every statement, however unsupported, put forth by Wellhausen.

[30] Saga (a Scandinavian word) is a legend or tradition of considerable length, relating either mythical or historical events. — *Cent. Dictionary.*

[31] Prof. Smith finds the accounts of the Exodus so contradictory that litte can be made of them. "The most glaring improbabilities are the property of the Priestly writer". The "unhistorical scheme" of the priestly writer being left aside, "we examine the story of J and E", but even here "we find little that commands our confidence" (pp., 53, 56).

[32] So Dr. J. P. Peters: "At or about the time of Solomon, when the effort was made to write the history of Israel's past, these stories and legends [of the Exodus] were brought into consecutive shape to form the history of this period. . . . . For the still earlier period, which preceded the deliverance from Egypt and the creation of the nation, the compilers of the history found another sort of material—legends with myth intermixed" *(Early Hebrew Story,* p., 12).

the law first and then prophecy, or prophecy first and then the law?

1. Law first, then Prophecy.

It was the uniform belief of the ancient Hebrews and of the early Christian Church that the Mosaic law was the basis of the Old Testament religion. Catholics and Protestants in the Reformation and post-Reformation periods believed that Moses under divine guidance promulgated a legislation substantially as recorded in Exodus—Deuteronomy, and that the historical and prophetical books were permeated by its spirit. In short, the Pentateuch preceded both genetically and chronologically the prophetical books, as Amos, Isaiah and the rest.[33] The Ten Words and the Book of the Covenant were held to be the foundation of the prophetic, priestly and kingly functions of the theocracy. The teaching of the prophets was under this view but an enforcement of the Mosaic law and an effort to bring back the people to the fundamental principles of their religion. The law came first, then prophecy in the special sense.

So W. H. Green: "The history and legislation of the Pentateuch lies at the basis of all the subsequent history of the Old Testament. It is presupposed in the Psalms and in the Prophets" *(Moses and Proph.* p. 345). Likewise G. Vos: "Prophecy presupposes the law—roots itself in it, and grows out of it" *(op. cit.* p., 172). Also E. C. Bissell: "The settlement of this one question (namely of the order of law and prophecy) in the nature of the case, must be the virtual settlement of the entire discussion in its present form" *(Pent.,* p., 291). That such is the claim and position of the whole traditional school could easily be shown, if necessary.[34]

2. Prophecy first, then Law.

The Graf-Wellhausen school places the law after prophecy on the grounds among others that the conditions were not present in Israel before the ninth century for a written code and that the early writing prophets, as Amos and Isaiah, preceded the written law, or the Pentateuch. It is contended that the prophets before the Exile are absolutely silent regarding the

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[33] This view naturally grew out of the order of the books in the Hebrew Bible (which under any view is very ancient), the *Torah* standing first, then the *Nebiim* (the historical and prophetical books) and finally the *Kethubim.*

[34] Thus E. Riehm: "Prophetism everywhere assumes as a basis the civil-ecclesiastical legislation enacted by Moses" *(Alttest. Theologie,* p., 55). Bredenkamp, commenting on Hosea 8: 12, says: "The actually expressed contempt for the law implies its existence, and indeed in written form" *(Gesetz u. s. w.).* Again: "We want a founder of the prophetical school of thought, but unless he is Moses we cannot find him" (Watson, *Law and Prophets,* 79).

Levitical Code, and that such silence implies the non-existence of the Priest Code. Wellhausen argues that the assumed legislation of Moses disappears entirely when the people enter Canaan; the period of the Judges is one of chaos with no trace of the Mosaic laws, and the temporal rulers, not the priests, are at the head of affairs and in fact have charge of the worship and sacrifices, appointing and discharging priests at pleasure. "The Torah of Jehovah is not a definite document guaranteeing the rights of the priests, but simply their oral decisions to others. . . . . So far as the literature of the period of the monarchy is concerned, it would be exceedingly difficult to discover even a few ambiguous echoes of the law." (Wellh. *Proleg.).*

W. R. Smith says: "The prophets of the eighth century never speak of a written law of Moses" *(O. T. Jew. Ch., 297).* R. L. Ottley: "The general results of O. T. criticism might be summed up in a single sentence: instead of speaking of the law and the prophets, we might equally speak of the prophets and the law" *(Aspects of O. T.,* p., 265).

As was pointed out above, the Grafians regard the Priest Code as dating from 445 B. C. The book of the law read by Ezra (Neh. 8: 1-6) was, it is alleged, chiefly this Priest Code, which until then, if in existence at all, was known only to the priests, and which in the Grafian scheme is the latest of the Codes, nearly a thousand years after Moses. We understand now why the question of the date of this Code is so vital and far-reaching. Smend says correctly: "The controversy relates to that part of the Pentateuch which embodies the essential matter of the O. T. law" *(Alttest.-Religionsg.,* 8).

Obviously, this whole position as over against the other is of the most revolutionary character and, if correct, necessitates a reconstruction of the whole Old Testament religion (and indeed of Christianity itself) from the ground up.

G. GOD, MAN AND THE SUPERNATURAL.

The six preceding antitheses grow largely out of diametrically opposed interpretations of literary and historical data in the early books of the Old Testament. But underneath these opposing view-points there run two antagonistic theories of God and man, of the supernatural and the natural. In the final analysis the issue is transferred to the field of the philosophy of mind, of history and of the universe. However carefully disguised, the fact remains that the above schools start from two conflicting theories of the O. T. religion, two different if not irreconcilable, philosophical postulates, the one affirming, the other denying the commonly accepted inferences from a thorough-going theism.

III.

ARE THE TRADITIONAL AND ANTI-TRADITIONAL POSITIONS RECONCILABLE?

I. EACH SCHOOL REGARDS ITS POSITION AS ESTABLISHED.

Each of the above schools is certain that its view is correct as over against the other.

(1). Conservatives Firm in Their Attitude.

The conservatives consider that their view has been placed or is capable of being placed on a solid historical basis and is the only view which guarantees the integrity and inspiration of the Old Testament. A denial of the direct Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch is equivalent to a denial of its inspired character; and a denial of its supernatural character in the objective sense means the undermining of the Old Testament (and of the New Testament) as containing a special and supernatural revelation.

(2). Grafians Deem their Position Established Absolutely.

The radical critics are thoroughly convinced in their own minds that a rejection of their theory implies a lack of historic insight, true scholarship and philosophic acumen. In 1882, Strack said: "Keil is now about the only prominent O. T. scholar who holds to the Mosaic authorship of the entire Pentateuch". Stade regards "the discovery of the origin of the Pentateuch one of the most brilliant triumphs of human genius". "Through the brilliant demonstration of Wellhausen the Grafian hypothesis has attained almost universal supremacy and recognition" (Kautzsch). "It is admitted almost universally that there existed in Israel before Josiah no divine lawbook of public authority" (Smend). Recent encyclopaedias, commentaries, Bible histories and compends of theology from the critical side (so-called) accept the non-Mosaic origin of the Pentateuch without question; the old view is not thought worthy of serious consideration.[35]

2. Irreconcilable Antagonism.

In the opinion of competent judges, the differences between the two schools are too great and far-reaching to admit of reconciliation. Prof. Jordan in a review of G. A. Smith's Modern Criticism and the Preaching of the Old Testament", remarks: "It is no use attempting to minimize the difference between the traditional view and the critical treatment of the Old Testament. The difference is immense; they involve different conceptions of the relation of God to the world; different views as to the course of Israel's history, the process of revelation, and the nature of inspiration. We cannot be lifted from the old to the new position by the influence of a charming literary style or by the force of the most enthusiastic eloquence" *(Am. Jour. Theol.* 1902, p., 114). Rev. I. Gibson in a work championing Grafianism, says: "The traditional and critical views of revelation are face to face in open antagonism". Dr. Hazard in the introduction to Gibson's book regards these theories as mutually destructive: "As compared with the . . . obsolescent treatment of the Bible that was accepted outside the limited circle of specialists down to within the last two or three decades the present system is an advance of such profound significance, that the two are nothing short of mutually destructive".

Prof. Volck of Dorpat, a conservative, writes: "Under the influence of Wellhausen the opposition to the churchly conception of the Old Testament has developed to the utmost extreme. Peace between the two camps is impossible; the gulf which separates them cannot be bridged" *(Heil. Schrift u. Kritik,* p., 190). Meinhold, an advanced critic, concedes that his views are utterly incompatible with the old: "If the new hypotheses are correct, the old conception of the Pentateuch has received *its death-blow",* "Accordingly the opponents of scientific criticism are quite right when they speak of its destructive tendency" *(op. cit.,* p., 14).

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[35] The most recent commentary on Exodus undertakes to show how modern criticism is warranted "in denying to Moses the authorship of the Pentateuch which our Lord and His apostles ascribed to him" (A. H. McNeile, *Book of Exodus,* 1908, p., XI). The two latest commentaries on Genesis, Gordon's *Early Traditions of Genesis* (observe the significant title) and Skinner on *Genesis* in the International Critical Series (1910), occupy throughout the Grafian viewpoint.

A careful study of the Grafian scheme will convince the discriminating reader that it destroys from the ground up the old order of things and substitutes an astoundingly revolutionary hypothesis. It cuts away the foundation of the whole Old Testament religion, in its historic setting, and builds, not on Mosaism as heretofore interpreted, but on the Judaism of a thousand years later. This is no half-way measure; it lays the axe at the very roots; everything in the Old Testament is re-arranged and reconstructed from a radically different view-point. *Alles wird auf den Kopf gestellt.* As Boehl says: "The later criticism has striven to turn every thing up-side-down—has made the lowest the highest, the earliest the latest. Nothing remains longer in its old place" *(Gesetz u. Zeugn.* p., 148.)

3. POSSIBILITY OF MEDIATING POSITION.

It is clear that these mutually exclusive positions arise from different philosophical and theological standpoints, different canons of historical criticism and different conceptions of the limits of literary criticism. It is possible that each school, seizing some important principle, develops it one-sidedly and to the exclusion of other equally important principles. Recognizing whatever of truth and validity attaches to either contention, and mediating, if need be, between the extremes, we shall endeavor to reach a safe footing for the solution of the problem.

Three attitudes are possible toward the critical analysis and the underlying philosophy. 1. A rejection of both the analysis and the naturalistic philosophy, as by W. H. Green. 2. An acceptance of both the analysis and the naturalistic philosophy, as by Kuenen. 3. An acceptance of the analysis and a rejection of the naturalistic philosophy, as by Dillmann. Which of these positions is to be adopted, will be seen in the sequel.[36]

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[36] An unfortunate feature of the whole situation on the one hand is, that the rank and file of the Christian Church and perhaps a considerable body of ministers, are not aware of the real nature of the problem and so rest in fancied security that everything is as it was a generation ago; and on the other that the adherents of the Wellhausen camp, convinced of their victory, deny that there is any longer an enemy in sight.

CHAPTER II.

THE LOWER AND THE HIGHER CRITICISM OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

Reference having been made in the preceding pages to Old Testament criticism and its real or assumed results, something must be said here regarding its aim and methods.

I.

THE LOWER CRITICISM.

A. CRITICISM IN GENERAL.

Criticism ordinarily is merely fault-finding or adverse opinion. Men always have been and doubtless always will be, critics, for they cannot avoid expressing judgments concerning persons, events and books. The universality of criticism leads to its cultivation as a special science. Whoever would express a valid judgment on a painting, a scientific treatise, or a book of the Bible, must possess special fitness and conform to true standards.[1] Few men are safe critics, because few have a thorough grasp of all the facts and principles. They mistake their own opinions and preferences for objective truths. The most perfect men are one-sided even in their virtues, leaning like the Scotchman's straight tree *a little to one side*. If men reasoned infallibly there would be little need of criticism. But human attainments are a queer mixture of the true and the false, the correct and the incorrect. The great mass of people accept as true whatever they have learned from teachers and friends or acquired in their limited experience. The trained specialist, however, accepts a conclusion as valid only after a severe test. It is this clash of opinion arising from the one-sideness of human attainments which renders criticism in the technical sense a necessity of modern life.

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[1] The word criticism comes from a Greek root meaning to separate one thing from another, as the good from the bad, to choose, to discriminate. Here lies the germ of all the meanings, namely to decide any matter of dispute according to reason and accepted standards. According to Kant, criticism aims to discover the principle or common ground lying back of every difference of opinion.

This spirit of testing everything anew, of inquiring into the correctness of inherited views has invaded Biblical and especially Old Testament science.[2] Old truths are rejected, old methods abandoned. New ideas, new methods are in possession of the field. This doubting spirit would dig beneath the very foundations of knowledge and call into question even the eternal verities. This iconoclasm is to be deplored, but it can be met only by a true and safe criticism. The problems of criticism have taken a wide scope through the intellectual temper of the age, and especially through the wide acceptance of the evolutionistic philosophy (whatever that may be). Accordingly Old Testament criticism, though entirely legitimate as a science, is beset with many dangers and difficulties as we shall see.

B. KINDS OF CRITICISM.

Much of the confusion in the public mind regarding criticism arises from the wideness of the field and the overlapping of method. The kinds are almost as numerous as the range of subjects; and some subjects admitting half a dozen points of view may be criticized along as many different lines of approach. It is sufficient to notice two principles of classification, which ought to be kept distinct, the one referring to the subject matter, the other to the plan of procedure. Thus any critical process which inquires into the facts and laws of science is called scientific criticism. An investigation into the facts and reliability of history is historical criticism. An explanation of the facts and laws of consciousness is psychological criticism; and an inquiry into the laws, qualities and characteristics of literature is called literary criticism. In all these the subject-matter suggests the name.

The second method derives its name from the method of investigation. If the method of science, usually the inductive, is pursued, the process is said to be scientific, even though the subject be an inquiry into the date and authorship of the book of Job or Chronicles.[3] The Grafians claim that their criticism is strictly and exclusively "scientific" and infallible as over against all other methods.[4]

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[2] The recent discoveries in Babylonia, Egypt, Palestine and in Bible lands generally and the new light thrown on ancient life, civilization and religion have impelled men to ask whether some old views about the Bible must not be greatly modified.

[3] There occurs one important exception to the above general rule. In ordinary usage, literary criticism is so called solely from the subject matter, the method pursued being scientific, historical, ethical, or a combination of these. Other divisions of criticism have been suggested, as lower and higher, internal and external, subjective and objective, positive and negative, analytic and synthetic, static, dynamic and organic. No strictly logical classification has yet been offered, and it is doubtful if such be possible.

[4] Today induction is lauded as the only correct method of Biblical inquiry. It is a powerful agent in collecting facts; and in this respect men today are strong, but they are weak in the interpretation of the facts. Critics often fail to get all the facts, or they fail to interpret correctly the facts in their possession. The inductive method is inadequate when it undertakes to formulate rules, for it cannot classify without some principle of classification, and this is furnished by the deductive logic.

C. THE LOWER AND THE HIGHER CRITICISM IN GENERAL.

The most widely current classification is that of Lower and Higher, or Textual and Literary. The terms are not entirely satisfactory, but we retain them as upon the whole the most expressive.

1. Lower or Textual Criticism.

This is the science which seeks to recover the exact words of an ancient author. In the case of books written several thousand years ago, whether sacred or secular, we naturally ask, with what degree of fidelity they have been transmitted. Thus if one were to inquire into the character of the works of Josephus, he would first of all examine the correctness of the text, the very words reported to have been used by the historian, and ascertain with what degree of fidelity they have been handed down to our times. Since the inquiry relates to an examination of the manuscripts, the mode of transcription and the faithfulness of copyists, that is to a close scrutiny of the external side of the preservation, it may with propriety be called external, lower or textual criticism.[5]

2. Higher or Literary Criticism.

If in the case just supposed, one were to inquire into the date, authorship and credibility of the works ascribed to Josephus, or were to compare his statements with those of other ancient writers, either earlier or later, with the view of determining whether Josephus were correct in his representations, he would enter the field of the Higher Criticism. An inquiry into the trustworthiness of the matter itself (however handed down) falls under this head. As this is a delicate and difficult process, involving sometimes an inquiry into the self-consistency of a document and a comparison with other documents of disputed date, it may not improperly be styled internal or higher criticism. Obviously the work of the higher criticism begins only after the text has been established by the lower criticism. As a matter of fact the two branches overlap, and we shall see that many a modern critic, finding a text obscure, undertakes to reconstruct in the interest of a preconceived notion of what an author may have said. Nevertheless, some such distinction, as that of lower and higher criticism, is valid.

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[5] The term *text,* shortened from the French *texte,* is derived from the Latin *textus,* meaning woven together, that is the warp and woof of words woven together in connected discourse. It denotes either the original words of a book, as distinguished from a commentary, at Kittel's text of the Hebrew Bible, or specifically the letter of Scripture, especially in the original languages.

D. THE NEED OF TEXTUAL CRITICISM.

We do not proceed far in the study of an author of a former period before occasion arises to inquire into the state of the text. Take the works of Shakespeare. The existing text is derived from the four folios and the early quartos, each containing marked peculiarities. An example will show the transformation which a text may undergo in printing and editing. "The Comedy of Errors", V :1, line 147, has in the First Folio, "at your important letters"; the Second Folio changed "important" to "impoteant"; the Third and Fourth miscorrected to "impotent", and Rowe, a later editor, changed the word to "all-potent".[6] The text of the Old Testament is in no such deplorable condition as that of Shakespeare, but yet in coming down through many centuries, it was subject to similar errors of transmission. The early editions of the English Bible contained some typographical errors, but only a small number affected the sense.[7] Various mistakes occurred in ancient times in the transcription of the Old Testament. No ancient book handed down through many centuries could be kept perfectly free from change without a miracle. Even with the most zealous care, mistakes would arise. The object of textual criticism is to ascertain as nearly as possible the original text of the writings, that is to correct whatever error of language may have crept in through oversight. The aim is not by an evolutionary process to construct a text congenial to the modern mind, but to restore by means of new evidence and a more thorough sifting of old sources the exact words of the original Scripture.

In such an undertaking we must go back of the printed editions of our Bibles, none of which are earlier than the fifteenth century A. D. It is a well-known fact that the manuscripts furnishing the text of the early printed editions of the Hebrew and Greek Bibles were not of the first rank, and even these were not used to the best advantage.[8] But in face of all the hindrances, the Old Testament has been handed down in a greater variety of ways and with more safeguards than any other equally ancient book. It was written down with scrupulous accuracy and guarded with the greatest care. Already in early times official copies were preserved in places of worship, in the archives of temples, in the homes of priests and prophets, and in the palaces of kings. In the reproduction of copies, every precaution was taken to guard against the insertion of foreign matter. It was translated into Greek and Aramaic already before the Christian era, and into Syriac and Latin shortly after. The material for tracing the text is abundant.[9]

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[6] A Shakespearean critic writes: "The truth is that the text of S. has come down to us from his own time with such imperfections that to form it into a self-consistent whole requires a degree of scholarship and of critical acumen beyond that required by the text of any other great poet of the past excepting Homer" (R. G. White, *Studies in Shakesp.*).

[7] The first Folio Edition of the Authorized Version, 1611, has among other curious errors the following. Ex. 38: 11 "hoopes" for "hooks"; Levit. 17: 14 "ye shall not eat" for "ye shall eat" etc. The second and third Folios correct some of the errors of the first, but introduce others. Thus Ex. 9: 13 "may serve thee" for "may serve me"; Levit. 7: 25 "fast" for "fat". Fortunately, the editions of the Bible put forth in recent times are nearly wholly free from the blemishes of books published a few centuries ago.

[8] Certain manuscripts, now regarded as more accurate than those on which the Received text is based, were not available. Hence, though the Reformation scholars produced remarkably accurate editions, they did not enter upon a critical study of the text, and so did not in all places reproduce the exact words which a more thorough examination of the manuscripts would have yielded. Since their day textual criticism has developed into a science with well-established rules and principles.

II.

THE HIGHER CRITICISM OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

A. PROVINCE OF HIGHER CRITICISM.

Whenever one inquires into the date, authorship and integrity of such books as Joshua, Judges and others of which the Bible gives no direct information, he enters the province of the Higher Criticism. With the exception of the Pentateuch and the prophetical and poetical books, the Old Testament contains few indications of date and authorship. If we wish to gratify a natural desire to know something more definite on these subjects, the only course open to us is to institute an inquiry according to accepted literary and historical methods.[10] Since criticism presupposes some standard of judgment, much depends on the view-point of the critic. If he is conservative and opposed to change, he will be guarded in his conclusions; if he is radical and inclined to accept new views, he may hold as true that which is purely hypothetical. The tendency to suggest all kinds of visionary hypotheses regarding the date and origin of Old Testament books, has brought the Higher Criticism into ill-deserved disrepute.

We describe three sub-heads of the Higher Criticism.

1. Age and Authorship.

It is important to know when, where and by whom a Biblical book was written. If the anthor's name, but not his age is mentioned, can we by an examination of the book itself and by comparison with what is known of the different periods of Hebrew history fix his age with any degree of assurance? This is not an idle question, for often a knowledge of the people whom the author had in mind lends greater force to the teaching of the book. Or, if neither the author's name nor the date is given, can we by an examination of the internal evidence reach a satisfactory conclusion as to both date and origin? An affirmative answer, though not absolutely necessary to an acceptance of the book as credible, inspires a greater degree of confidence in its historical character.

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[9] Since the American Revision is in our judgment the most accurate of the English translations, it is adopted here as the standard of reference. It must be noted, however, that the American revisers adopted for the Old Testament the *Received* rather than a critically established Hebrew text.

[10] The wide-spread outcry against this, the real aim and function of criticism, is therefore misdirected and often betrays great ignorance of the real questions at issue. On the other hand, since criticism is a delicate and dangerous process, and is often pure subjectivism, it is not surprising that with the same data, equally competent scholars reach diametrically opposite conclusions.

2. Integrity.

Some books of the Old Testament are alleged to be composite works. In regard to the integrity, we ask, Does a book exhibit signs of unity of plan, purpose and authorship? Or, Does it contain linguistic and historical evidence of having been compiled from two or more writings by some editor who skillfully wove together the parts suitable to his purpose? Again, has the work under any view been handed down unimpaired or without long additions through many centuries; or, have words and sentences, and even whole paragraphs been incorporated in the text? When we recall that there was no copyright in ancient times and that everything once published was public property, and further that in historical writing, it was regarded as desirable to reproduce the very language of a document as proof of accuracy, we need not be surprised that the ancient literary world boldly appropriated whatever came its way. The Old Testament contains many references to books and writings, and so we must conclude that the authors of the several books had access to authentic documents and used them freely. Thus the question of the manner in which the Old Testament books were composed cannot be evaded.

3. Credibility.

Another important subject is that of credibility. Does the matter of an Old Testament book accord with the social, historical and religious condition of its supposed age as known from contemporary sources, or does it contain contradictions, inaccuracies and anachronisms? In short is the book reliable and credible? Until within recent years, every statement in the Bible was regarded as absolutely correct; and such may really be the case. But in these latter days men openly call in question the accuracy and reliability of some parts. The only course open to the apologist is to accept the challenge. It matters not how the issue is raised, whether through honest doubt, defiant scepticism or intellectual pride, when once raised, it must be met by the defenders of the Old Testament; otherwise the inference will be drawn that no defence is possible.

B. HIGHER CRITICISM ILLUSTRATED FROM THE BOOK OF JOEL.

We may illustrate the problems and method of the Higher Criticism by a concrete case, the book of Joel. The date is not mentioned in the Bible or in early literature. The only evidence available, the internal, is differently interpreted; hence the dates assigned vary from 875 to 330 B. C. Why this uncertainty? Chiefly because there is no fixed and unquestioned starting-point. How do the critics proceed? They examine every word, phrase, historical statement and scrap of information which can possibly be regarded as indicating date; in the light of the material gained, they construct a theory to account for the greatest number of facts. It is assumed that the writer will unconsciously reflect the customs, ideas and peculiarities of his age; but some works, as the Pentateuch, Job, Joel, are so devoid of precise references to contemporaneous events that keen-eyed critics and learned antiquarians are not agreed on the significance of the internal evidence.

In the case of Joel the facts are substantially as follows. 1. He refers to Tyre, Sidon, the Philistines, Javan, Sabaeans, Egypt and Edom; he makes no reference to Assyrians, Syrians, or Chaldeans; the Ten Tribes are not mentioned. It is doubtful if the term Israel in 2:27 and 3:16 means the Northern Kingdom, or stands for Judah after the deportation of the Ten Tribes (721). 2. The name of the king is not mentioned, but elders are alluded to. 3. The valley of Jehoshaphat is mentioned, presumably from the king of that name. 4. Jehovah's people is "a reproach among the nations," 2:19 and Israel is "scattered among the nations", 3:3. 5. "Egypt shall be a desolation, and Edom shall be a desolate wilderness for the violence to the children of Judah", 3:19. From such data the critics agree that the composition is either early (before 736) or late (after 500). The problem is thus narrowed to the question, whether an early or a late date best suits all the conditions.[11]

The arguments for determining the date cluster around: (1) The Style and Language; (2) The Historical Situation.

1. The Style and Language.

"The language", says Koenig, "is of such a character that it may most properly be placed at the beginning of the second chief period of O. T. literature", i. e. comparatively early. "The style of Joel is clear and of a high order, and the language comparatively pure" (G. G. Cameron, *Hast. Bib. Dic.*). "The style of Joel is bright and flowing; and the contrast, which is palpable, with Haggai or Malachi, is no doubt felt by many as a reason against the view that his prophecy dates from the same general period of the history" (Driver, *Lit.*). The language would seem to favor an early date.

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[11] Since no mention is made of Syria, Assyria, or Babylon, and since from the time of Amos (760) to the Exile of Judah, one or the other of these powers, is constantly mentioned by the prophets, it is inferred that Joel wrote before Assyria began to threaten the chosen people, or after Babylon ceased to be dangerous; that is the date is prior to *circa* 750 (Eichhorn, Credner, Hitzig, Ewald, Schrader, Orelli, Dillmann, Baudissin, Koenig); or later than the fall of Babylon, 536, (Vatke, Merx, Stade, Kuenen, Cornill, Wellhausen, Driver, Cheyne, Wildeboer, Nowack, W. R. Harper).

2. The Historical Situation.

(1). Arguments for the early date are: a. The position of Joel in the series of Minor Prophets (Hosea, Joel, Amos) favors the early date. b. In the time of Joel the Temple service was regularly maintained, the priests were highly esteemed, etc. Hence about 775. c. This period agrees best with the absence of reference to Syria, etc. Only a pre-Exilic writer would mention Tyre, Sidon and Philistia as among the enemies of Israel. d. There is a possible historical allusion in "the valley of Jehoshaphat" (2: 2, 12) to the great victory of Jehoshaphat over Moab (2 Chron. 20: 1-20), when Jehovah fought for his people (860). This triumph, fresh in the minds of all, may have suggested the language and imagery of the prophet. e. Joel has no reference, direct or indirect, to events of the Persian or Greek periods. This is unaccountable if the book is late. f. Amos 1: 2 and 9: 13 clearly imply Joel 3: 16 and 3: 18 respectively, for the Joel passages suit the context better. g. The term Israel 2: 17; 3: 16 is a generic name of Judah, current before and after the defection of the Northern Kingdom.[12]

(2). The arguments for a late date are: a. "I shall bring back the captivity, etc.," implies the Babylonian Captivity. b. In Joel, Judah and the people of Judah are synonymous terms. Northern Israel has disappeared. Under Joash the limitation of the people of Jehovah to Judah is wholly inconceivable. Hence the book was written after 721. c. The mention of priests, and the non-mention of kings and princes cannot be accounted for by dating the book during the minority of Joash. d. The assumption of a period before the eighth century when spiritual prophecy had full sway is not consistent with history. e. Since the ritual is represented as in full force, the book is later than Ezekiel (582) and the Levitical legislation. f. The attitude of the prophet toward the heathen nations implies an approach toward the exclusiveness of later Judaism.[13]

3. Inferences and Deductions.

Such is in general the method pursued in ascertaining the date. We first examine the language in the hope that some word or phrase known to have been used in a certain period may furnish a clue to the age. In this case the evidence inclines, though not without exception, to the early date. Then we examine the historical setting. Here the material is limited in extent, for the book has only three chapters of 73 verses and contains comparatively few references to contemporary circumstances. But intensively the field is broad, for Joel is rich in imagery and developes his central thought, "the day of Jehovah", with wonderful scope and suggestiveness. Since his prophecies outline the future course of Israel's history, critics of one school place him at the very beginning of the writing prophets, those of another, near the close. Broadly speaking he fits in in either place; at least no one may dogmatically affirm that the case is thus or so. It is a matter of literary, historical and theological investigation, and doubtless sooner or later, Biblical scholars will be able to settle the question one way or the other. We have dwelt thus minutely on this one book with the intent that the reader may gain a clear idea of some of the problems and difficulties of Old Testament Higher Criticism.[14]

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[12] The claim that the phrase "the sons of Javan", *i. e.* the Greeks, implies a late date, may be offset by the view of Baudissin: "It is not clear why it may not have come to pass in the ninth or eighth century B. C. that the Phœnicians, who from early times had business relations with Greece, and perhaps also the Philistines, may have sold prisoners of war to the Greeks" (*Einl.* 493).

[13] In (2) above we have drawn largely on the article "Joel" in the *Ency. Bib.* which is a fair statement for that side.

C. THE NAME AND NATURE OF THE SCIENCE.

The phrase Higher Criticism was used originally in contrast with Lower Criticism as denoting a more subtle and delicate weighing of evidence. With the constantly enlarging scope of criticism, it has come to involve far more important doctrinal consequences than the Lower Criticism. But the phrase is unfortunately chosen, since as merely antithetic to something else, it explains nothing and invites all kinds of misleading inferences. The name itself, the confusion in the public mind as to its real nature, and the revolutionary views of some critics, have brought the whole science into widespread odium.

1. Literary Criticism.

Some have suggested the phrase Literary Criticism, but this is employed in various senses.[15] The aim here is not the criticism of the literary qualities of the Old Testament. We do not ask primarily whether the writing awakens emotions of beauty and pleasure, and belongs to the sphere of high art; whether it is the work of a master, or of a novice; whether it is good prose, or bad poetry. These subjects are dealt with only incidentally as a means of solving the problems of origin, composition and religious value. The

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[14] The question of the date of Joel is a part of other inter-related subjects. Thus, since the Levitical laws relating to worship seem to be in force, the whole question of the date of the Priest Code is brought to bear on the discussion. Those who adopt the Dillmann view of the early date of P, consider the references to the ritual as entirely consistent with an early date; but "almost all who place that legislation later than Ezekiel, are agreed that the book of Joel is also late" (*Ency. Bib.* col. 2495). As one's view of a subject is conditioned by the system of thought in which he moves, the literary analysis is affected by the philosophical and theological postulates of the critic.

[15] "Any critical process which deals with literature is called literary criticism" (Gayley and Scott, *Literary Criticism).* The purpose of literary criticism, as usually understood, is to point out what in literature is good and what bad; to interpret and make clear what is obscure; to regulate literary taste; and to give some idea of the scope and character of a book.

Old Testament may indeed be viewed as literature, but, as Moulton has pointed out, Hebrew literature has certain distinguishing features. First, "it has not developed a separate and distinct drama. The reader of the Bible knows that he will find in it no acted play like the plays of Shakespeare" *(Lit. Study of Bible,* 111*)*. Again, prophecy is a special department of Hebrew literature. "The distinction of prophecy is not one of form, but of spirit: Biblical prophecy, in a sense that belongs to no other class of literature, presents itself as an actual divine message" *(ibid,)*.[16] Since the Old Testament constitutes a special kind of literature, the phrase "Literary Criticism" is too narrow and inexact for the science under review.

2. Historical Criticism.

Others have preferred the term Historical Criticism. Since the Old Testament contains historical books and not a little history in the other books, the question arises whether we may not go back of the records and inquire into the correctness of the statements, and use such material as an index of the age and authorship. Under this view the inquiry may take wide range, for one critic may call in question one part of the narrative, another another, until practically every chapter and verse is challenged on one ground or another. In recent years critics have questioned the correctness of so many statements and professed to be able to readjust Old Testament history at so many points that on their theory little of history remains. Thus understood, the kernel of the modern view of the Old Testament is a reconstruction (often a destruction) of what was formerly regarded as historical. The historicity of the Old Testament is, therefore, regarded by some as the central problem of the Higher Criticism.

3. Literary-Historical Criticism.

Since the analysis of the Old Testament (and especially the Pentateuch) into documents is no less essential to the critical process than the determination of the historical data, most German and English writers use the phrase Literary-Historical, which expresses at least two important phases of the movement. As a matter of fact, however, Old Testament criticism has come to include every kind of investigation, literary, historical, linguistic, psychological, archaeological, comparative, philosophical and theological, and has invaded every department of inquiry in the search of light on the Old Testament religion. At bottom it is less a literary and historical, than a philosophical movement, and ultimately it must be fought out on philosophic lines. Since, as matters now stand, everything in heaven and earth is brought into the drag-net of this branch of Biblical study and since no altogether satisfactory term has been proposed, we personally prefer, though with some reluctance, to retain the old phrase "Higher Criticism", as under present conditions the most suggestive and comprehensive, without thereby indicating any particular school, whether conservative or radical, Grafian or anti-Grafian, since all are higher critics in one sense or another.

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[16] Moulton would restrict *literary criticism* to a study of the form and spirit of the Old Testament and leave to *historical criticism* the other questions of the Higher Criticism.

D. THE METHOD OF OLD TESTAMENT HIGHER CRITICISM.

In the absence of external proof, criticism is driven to argue from internal peculiarities usually classed as literary, historical and theological.

1. The Literary Method or Argument.

(1). Vocabulary and Style. It is well known that each person has a more or less definite stock of words and phrases which are employed to express the most diverse thoughts and feelings.[17] This peculiarity runs through literature in greater or less degree and is seized upon by the critic as an index of authorship. On the basis of vocabulary and style we have two antagonistic views regarding the authorship of the Pentateuch. One view is that if Moses wrote the Pentateuch it would all be written in the same style, but since the difference of style is great, we must assume a plurality of authors. The other view is that the difference in style, though marked, is not of such a character as to demand a plurality of authors. Dr. Briggs formulates the rule thus: "Differences of style imply differences of experience and age of the same author [and difference of subject], or when sufficiently great, difference of

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[17] If one were to prepare lists of key-words in a book it would be found that the tendency is toward the recurrence of certain words revealing the age and view-point of the author. This peculiarity is especially noticeable in the Hebrew Old Testament. Books not being plentiful, writers were left to choose their own stock of words. Sometimes when the right word was found it was used on similar occasions afterward without fear of the charge of tautology. This led to a certain monotony of expression, objectionable stylistically, but helpful to the critic.

author and of period of composition". The question is whether the difference in style in the Pentateuch is so great as to prove difference of authorship.

The divisive critics claim to have discovered such a wide difference in the words and phrases of the Hexateuch as to demand a partition into the documents described above. The argument is, however, vitiated somewhat by the view now commonly held by these critics that the documents are the product of "schools" shading into each other.[18]

(2). Value of Argument from Style. Under certain conditions the argument from literary quality may be safely used. Such is the case when a writing is known to emanate from a certain author who is also reputed to have written other works. We may then examine the peculiarities of his style and phraseology and conclude that another work, brought into relation with it and exhibiting in a marked degree the same peculiarities, probably emanates from the same source. But even here we cannot reach absolute certainty, for it has been shown that the known works of an author may differ widely from each other in language and style.[19]

In Pentateuch criticism the situation is indescribably complicated. We have scarcely any unchallenged starting-point for the dissection into documents. The critic examines the literary phenonena, classifies words and phrases, conceives that such and such expressions proceed from one author, such and such from another, and concludes that the Pentateuch must have been compiled from the documents J, E, D, and P. The analysis is made to correspond to the assumed characteristics of the four hypothetical writers, and the parts not agreeing with the analysis are simply considered as supplied by the ever present editor. Curious results are obtained if we apply such a test to English writers.[20] Thus, Bacon's later writings surpass the earlier in vigor and variety. So in the case of Burke, whose style at twenty was "simple and unadorned; at forty it was rich and copious; at fifty ornate and florid, and at seventy gorgeous". The prose writings of Milton differ so much from the "Paradise Lost" that if style alone were considered it would appear that he could not have written both.[21]

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[18] Driver finds 41 characteristic expressions in D, 50 in P and 20 in H; Holzinger 125 in J and 198 in E.

[19] This has been illustrated from the Latin poet Horace. The *"Ars Poetica"* contains many words and phrases not found in his other writings: as *ab ovo, in medias res, ore rotundo, ad unguem, vivas voces, sagax rerum, sesquipedalia, laudator temporis acti,* the simile of the mountain and the mouse, and the proverb, *occupet extremum scabies,* all of them often quoted. One might suppose that having used these expressions once, Horace would use them again; but the fact is that a writer of the first rank might use least often that which we most admire. Another strange fact is that this poem is preceded by two others of similar style and character, and yet its vocabulary is entirely unique. According to the principles of some Grafian critics these *Hapax legomena* indicate a different author; but how utterly absurd to reject the traditional authorship on any such ground!

[20] Koenig reminds us that the results of such criticism may be challenged

Similar strange results follow from an examination of the style of Old Testament books of known authorship.[22]

It is generally conceded by the Grafians that the evidence from style alone is not conclusive. Cheyne says: "Linguistic arguments do not furnish a positive or conclusive argument." So, too, Kuenen.[23]

2. The Historical Method or Argument.

(1). Direct Reference. The validity of the historical argument is based on the claim that a document reflects the character of its age. Thus a book containing references to contemporaneous events recorded in other works, or to persons known to have lived at a certain time, originated in or subsequent to that age. The principle is that an author unconsciously reflects the peculiarities of his environment, much as men today conform to the ideas of their time. When an ancient writer, however remote, refers directly to events of his time or indicates the internal between his and an earlier age, or even in a casual way alludes to events recorded by other writers, the critic has a definite period and may reason thence

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at many points "by the difficulties arising from the comparatively small body of Hebrew literature and the absolutely certain date of only a fraction of the O. T. The critic has therefore only a relatively small amount of material of unquestioned date as his point of departure, and may err by attaching too much or too little significance to one or another part of the writing" *(Einl.)*.

[21] On the same principle Scott's "Lady of the Lake" and the "Life of Napoleon" were written by two different persons; and Byron's "Don Juan", "Childe Harold", and "English Bards and Scotch Reviewers" by three persons. Similar difficulties arise in French and German literature. On the principle of the Grafians, the "Pucille", the "Henriade" and the "Charles XII" of Voltaire were written by three distinct authors. And what shall we say of the second Part of Goethe's "Faust" compared with the First, and even sections in the First part compared with each other?

[22] Thus the divisive critics, while admitting the genuineness of the greater part of the first 39 chapters of Isaiah, deny that the last 27 are by Isaiah. The Isaian origin of chapter *one* is universally admitted. But it is found that the surprisingly large number of 45 words occur only in chap. one and chaps. 40-66. It would follow, therefore either that the Isaian authorship of chas. 40-66 must be conceded, or that of chapter one denied. Either alternative is fatal to the argument from style.

[23] "The extant Israelitish literature is too limited in extent to enable us to determine the age of any work with certainty from mere considerations of language and style" *(Hexat.)*.

as to the exact date of a writing.[24] Strangely enough a very considerable part of the Old Testament lacks local and contemporaneous color. The writers were thoroughly absorbed in their theme and looked on the inner rather than the outer world. They were not always men of affairs in the political sphere. They took little or no note of current happenings; they lived apart from the great streams of history, caring little for anything beyond their immediate horizon. Communication with the outside world was difficult and infrequent; news, even of the rise and fall of dynasties, of great battles and world-conquests, traveled slowly and sometimes never reached their ears. This is true especially of the Hebrews from the time of Abraham to Joseph and from Moses to David. All this increases the difficulty of establishing the date of early Old Testament writings.

(2). Proof from the Subject-Matter. Doubt arises regarding the date of some books because the references to local and contemporary events are so meager and general that they may be differently interpreted. Here the method is much the same as in determining the authorship of anonymous or pseudonymous books. It has been found that of the ten thousand anonymous books of the world, no well attested case exists of a book, the approximate date of which was not ultimately determined by criticism. Even the most astute and accomplished literary imposter invariably betrays his age and century by slips in language, geography, or place and time of composition. He invariably attributes to his assumed chronological period some custom, law or institution which is known to have originated later. The ill-success of Chatterton and Macpherson (Ossian) might be cited in proof of the rule. The Old Testament critic may apply this canon in two ways. He may point out that the book in question exhibits marks of a later age. In that case he will inquire whether such phenomena are few and scattered, or numerous and characteristic. In the former event he may allow that the book is genuine, but that words and even paragraphs were inserted afterward (so the conservative critics); in the latter he would hold that the work is a compilation of late date (so the Grafians).

(3). Argument from Anachronisms. The argument from anachronisms (*i. e.* errors in assigning the date of an event) has been used as a means of disproving the alleged date of a book. Thus the use of the word *cannon* in Shakespeare's King John is an anachronism, as cannon were not employed in England until a century after his reign. How can the critic base an argument on anachronisms? As follows. If a book mentions an event (predictive prophecy excepted), the book, or at least the part in which the statement is made, must be later than the event. It is of course possible, and in some instances probable, that the book is earlier than the sentence in question, and that the latter is a later addition.

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[24] By this method the date of the book of Amos is fixed at 760, and the "Song of Deborah" 1150—1100, B. C.

Literary impostures have often been exposed by the argument from anachronisms. This was the method pursued by Richard Bentley in establishing the spuriousness of the so-called "Epistles of Phaleris".[25] He showed that the Epistles mentioned towns, words, events, and authors not in existence until long after the time of Phaleris. Bentley's line of argument opened a new era in scholarship, and he is really the founder of literary and historical criticism, rather than Wolf *(Proleg. ad Homerum)*, as Germans admit. His success in this field filled the learned world with astonishment, since for fifteen centuries the Epistles had universally been regarded as genuine.

The same argument has been applied to the Pentateuch, but to the writer it seems certain, that the Pentateuch, even if the theory of codes in some sense be allowed, reflects so truly and correctly the conditions of the Mosaic age and is so devoid of anachronisms (barring a small number of later insertions) that the bulk of its matter must somehow have come down from a period far more remote than the Davidic.

(4). Argument from Silence. The argument from silence has been employed more frequently perhaps than any other. But its validity depends on special circumstances. Silence may imply different things not always easily determined.

a. Matter Foreign to Plan. As each independent writer has his own individuality, he is a law unto himself, accepting or rejecting as deemed best. Since he cannot reproduce all that he knows, he omits what is unessential to his plan. He writes for the immediate present and furnishes what seems the most important. He is the judge of what is the most suitable under the circumstances, rather than a critic two thousand years later; and this, too, in harmony with historical composition under any view, for up to a certain point, all true literary art is consciously unconscious of its processes; and so it is absurd to suppose that our ancient author sits down and by a mathematical calculation determines what is and what is not to be omitted. And yet critics go far afield in the attempt to prove that because an Old Testament writer fails to refer to some law, institution or mode of worship, such institutions were not in existence. Nothing could be more unscientific and unpsychological.[26]

3. The Theological Method or Argument.

Strictly this head ought to be designated by some such phrase as the argument from thought or the religious setting, since it refers to the religious ideas expressed or implied in the writing. But used in a broad sense, the term is sufficiently expressive. The thoughts of a writer are indicative of his mental qualities, education and environment. Just as the soil out of which vegetation grows imparts a certain flavor, so the school in which a man is educated, or his early associations, or the literature read by him, find expression directly or indirectly in his writing. Even an original genius like Aristotle, Shakespeare, Isaiah, betrays to some extent the source of his material. So in the strictly religious or theological sphere, men approach a theme from different sides and subjective tendencies. This is seen in the difference between the books of the Bible: Isaiah compared with Jeremiah, or Matthew with John. In Biblical theology the period of the authors is known at least approximately, and the sameness or difference in point of view indicated and compared. But in criticism we are supposed to argue from the theological content of a writing to its origin, which is a far more difficult and delicate undertaking.

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[25] Phaleris, a ruler of Agrigentum, Sicily, about 550 B. C., was the author of certain valuable Epistles which by some mischance were lost and have never been recovered. Wishing to gratify a demand for them, a Greek writer some six or eight centuries later produced the famous, but spurious Epistles.

[26] b. The second form of the argument is generally stated so vaguely that it has little force. If an author neglect to state facts bearing on the subject in hand and materially modifying, or negativing what he says, it may be inferred either that he wrote before the event took place, or that he had no knowledge of it. Here again it is only rarely possible to reach even a provisional conclusion. News travelled slowly in ancient Israel; it took longer in the time of David for a message from Damacus to reach Jerusalem than to encircle the globe a half dozen times today. We can scarcely picture to ourselves the disadvantages of ancient writers in ascertaining facts deemed valuable by us. What we consider essential is often an inference from statements of authors whose judgment we impugn.

Cumulative Value of the Three Methods. As seen above, the literary method alone yields no absolutely certain results; the theological argument is scarcely more satisfactory, since it can be resorted to only on the basis of a provisional order of the books and of an assumed philosophy of history and mental development, both of which (in this case) imply reasoning in a circle. The historical-archaeological argument is the most satisfactory in this field. When historical and archaeological facts, especially those discovered in recent times, are brought to bear on the Old Testament books and point in a certain direction, either confirming or opposing the traditional date, the argument has great and in some cases a decisive value. So, too, if the three lines of argument converge to the same point.

E. PRINCIPLES AND METHOD OF PRESENT INQUIRY.

Since our inquiry relates to a remote past and the utmost care is required, it is necessary to note a few general principles in the examination of and citation from, ancient records.

First Principle: Essential, not Absolute Historical Certainty.

In dealing with the remote past, not absolute, but merely relative certainty, is attainable. Indeed the same is true of comparatively recent history. The principle was fully discussed by Prof. E. A. Freeman; "A very little thought will bring any of you to see that absolute certainty is unattainable by the very best historical evidence. . . Let any man take his own personal experience. Let him begin at the beginning. Every man fancies that he knows who he is; but he does not really know it for certain. He knows it only as he knows a fact of past history. No man can say of his own knowledge that he is really the son of those whom he believes to be his parents; he believes that he is so only as he believes that William the Conqueror landed at Pevensy; he believes it because he has been told it on what he believes to be trustworthy evidence." *(Method of Hist. Study).*

If the rules which some critics apply to the study of the Bible were carried out in daily life, everything would be thrown into the utmost confusion. "You believe," says Freeman, "that I am Regius Professor of Modern History; I believe it myself. But you have no proof of the fact, neither have I. Yet I did not decline to act because it is possible that what I believe to be Her Majesty's sign-manual appointing me may have been a forgery—for I certainly did not myself see her Majesty sign it" *(op. cit. p.,* 152). "It has become almost a proverb that no two eye-witnesses describe the same event in exactly the same way. . . . . According to the different turns of men's minds, one man will be most struck by one aspect of what he sees and another by another; in their reports, therefore, there is likely to be a wide difference in the relations and proportions in which things are put" *(ibid,* 124).

Speaking of unlikely happenings, Freeman says: "A thing which is really physically impossible we do not under ordinary circumstances believe. But those things which we often loosely call impossible merely because they are unlikely, are often the more likely to be true because they are so unlikely. That is to say they are so very unlikely that no one is likely to have said that they happened unless they really did happen. And when you can say this, it amounts to a very high degree of probability indeed" (*ibid,* 128).[27]

These observations of Freeman are manifestly so just and sensible that is would seem impossible to ignore them; and yet some critics persistently and ignorantly violate common-sense rules.[28]

Second Principle: A Document Genuine Until Spuriousness Established.

A second principle of investigation is that a document coming down from the historic past is to be considered genuine until its spuriousness is established. If a man tenders me a ten dollar bill in payment of a debt, its genuineness is assumed; and I accept it without question. Any other course would necessitate an intricate line of proof. Hypothetically the bill may be spurious, but only one in many thousand is found to be so. The contingency is so remote that it may be left out of account. Likewise as to ancient records: they are as a rule genuine, the Biblical no less than the Babylonian, Egyptian and Assyrian.[29]

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[27] Freeman says further: "Many people think that a proposition is proved if it cannot be disproved. It is a deep saying of Grote that if a man chooses to say that rain fell on the site of NewYork on the day of the battle of Platea, no one can prove that it did not; only he can not prove that it did. That is no one can know anything about the matter" (*ibid,* 144). What would become of some of Wellhausen's arguments if this canon of criticism were applied?

[28] Freeman also condemns the tendency to reject duplicate narratives: "At every step we meet with something which warns us that the practice of rejecting a story merely because something very like it happened once before, is one that must be used with great caution. As a matter of fact, events often do repeat one another; it is likely that they should repeat one another, not only are like causes likely to produce like results, but in events that depend on the human will it is often likely that one man will act in a certain way simply because another man acted in the same way before him" (p. 139).

Eduard Meyer, author of a number of works on ancient history and himself somewhat of a free lance, deplores the tendency of some critics to question in a wholesale manner the authenticity and credibility of the Old Testament Scriptures. Later investigators, he observes, start with the extant sources. If these "are not in accord with the hypothesis, they are pronounced spurious. This is a very questionable procedure in the field of historical investigation; for an historical document, if genuine, is a witness which silences all opposition". It may indeed happen that a genuine document contains statements which at first glance are irreconcilable, but in reality admit of explanation; in that event the document itself furnishes the key to a more correct understanding of its statements and scope. "Facts cannot be mastered by hypotheses and conjectures. The historian must first of all search for well-established facts, irrespective of any theory he may have entertained" *(Entstehung d. Judentums, p.,* 4).

Since the Old Testament writings, especially those prior to Ezra, have come down to us through the medium of copies, it would be easy to deny their genuineness and correctness, and demand absolute proof. Such is essentially the attitude of the Grafians. An hypothesis, however remote and unsupported, is set up, and unless proof can be adduced that it is false, its correctness is forthwith assumed. The above observations of Freeman neatly nail this kind of argumentation (or sophistry). Meyer's comments are also instructive: "The task of establishing the genuineness of documents preserved by transcription, so that doubt is silenced, is, as many examples from historical literature show, no easy one. A doubt may easily be expressed; and even if it is wholly unfounded, or if the alleged arguments are immediately refuted *semper aliquid haeret* ('something always sticks'). If the original document be extant, the writing material, the palaeography and other details furnish external proof of a more or less decisive character regarding genuineness; such proof is lacking in the case of literary transmission" *(Op. cit.* p., 4). Meyer proceeds to show that even in the latter case the document must be regarded as authentic, if it be possible to prove that no motive for fraud exists, and that it is intelligible from contemporaneous circumstances and contains between the lines much which is not found at all or only partly in other sources, but which throws a new light on the latter, and proves that the document cannot be a fabrication of a later writer" *(ibid).*

Under these conditions, according to Meyer, the document must be considered genuine and trustworthy. Then follows the principle laid down by Meyer: "It cannot be sufficiently emphasized, although it is often ignored, that *in the case of a document transmitted from the historic past, the burden of proof lies with the assailants of its genuineness, not with its defenders".* This principle we regard as valid for the Old Testament writings, the earliest no less than the latest.

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[29] The few instances in which Egyptians, Babylonians and Assyrians falsified records may be left out of account.

[30] The exact language of Meyer runs: "Es kann nicht genug betont werden, obwohl es oft genug verkannt wird; *bei einem aus historischer Zeit ueberlieferten Dokument steht die Beweispflicht den Angreifern der Aechtheit zu, nicht den Vertheidigern" (op. cit.* p., 6). Meyer has in mind more directly the Ezraic period, but the principle is equally valid for earlier Old Testament history.

CHAPTER III.

THE SEMITIC PEOPLE AND LANGUAGES.

I.

THE PEOPLE.

1. PRELIMINARY STATEMENTS.

In determining the antiquity of Hebrew writing and literature, it is necessary to ascertain the historic situation from which the Hebrews emerged and came upon the field of history. The Hebrews were one of a number of Semitic people and had racial affinities with many of their neighbors. The roots of their culture and civilization were imbedded in Semitic soil. The Hebrews, to be sure, are commonly represented as a separate and isolated people. This is true to a certain degree, for their religion (that of the Old Testament) is *sui generis*. Nevertheless in their cultural relations they came into contact with and under the influence of the Babylonians, Egyptians, Amorites, Canaanites, Phœnicians, Aramaeans, and Assyrians, as well as a number of less important people, as the Hittites, Moabites and Ammonites. We accordingly review briefly the Semitic people and languages, their script, Egyptian writing and literature, Babylonian writing and literature, systems of writing and writing material in ancient times. All these subjects are important, if we wish to ascertain when the Hebrews learned the art of writing and began to cultivate literature; and whether they employed the Egyptian, the cuneiform or the Phœnician script in their early history.

2. CHARACTER AND INFLUENCE OF THE SEMITES.

The most important of the Semitic people, as enumerated in Gen. 10: 21-30, are the descendants of Shem, viz. Asshur, Arpachshad, Aram, Eber, Joktan and Sheba; other people, not descendants of Shem, who spoke a Semitic dialect, are the Canaanites and Sidonians. In whatever way Gen. 10: 10 (Nimrod, the founder of Babel) and 11: 9 (Babel, from confusion of tongues) be interpreted, the fact remains that the city Babel (Greek Babylon) gave its name to the people, who next to the Hebrews played the chief role in Semitic history.

Babylon itself did not come into prominence until about 2000 B. C., but thenceforward its influence was great.

(1). The Babylonians.

"The Semites of the East controlled the destiny of their kindred of the West, including Judah and Israel, whose fateful history involved in one supreme sway the well-being of mankind. Their influence in the civilization of the race has been vast and far-reaching. We are convinced of this when we consider the enormous antiquity of the culture of the Babylonians, who, long before Arabs or Aramæans or Hebrews or Phœnicians had begun to be known, and felt in the world, had already extended themselves beyond the limits of the lower Euphratean kingdoms, overspread the West-land and passed over the sea to Cyprus — who before the Hittite era, had made the Semitic Babylonian tongue a language of polite intercourse in all the immense region from the Upper Nile through Palestine, Syria, and Mesopotamia, east and south to the Persian Gulf" (McCurdy, *Pres. and Ref. Review, II, p., 58)*. It is impossible to determine all the elements entering into the formation of the Babylonian civilization. Though perhaps not the originators, they were the chief disseminators of the cuneiform system of writing, and were noted for their culture, inventive genius and mental acumen.

(2). The Assyrians.

The Assyrians were probably an offshoot of the Babylonians. "The name is derived from the city of *Asshur,* which was founded at an unknown early date on the west of the Tigris. . . . . The Assyrians used the Babylonian language in its purity. Indeed we usually call this language *Assyrian,* because it was principally from the monuments of Assyria, and not from those of Babylonia, that our knowledge of it was first obtained. . . . The Assyrians had virtually the same institutions as the Babylonians" (McCurdy, *Hast. Dic. Bible V., 86)*.

(3). The Aramaeans.

The Aramæans, the descendants of Aram, occupied a wide extent of territory. Their original centre is uncertain. "They seem to have been equally at home herding cattle for the markets of Babylon, driving caravans along the Euphrates, or holding bazaars in the crowded cities of Harran and Damascus.

. . . They were *par excellence* the travellers and negotiators of the ancient East. What the Phœnicians achieved by sea, they with almost equal enterprise and persistence attained on the land" (McCurdy, *op. cit.,* 86).

(4). The Southern Semites.

The book of Genesis (10: 26-30) enumerates other descendants of Shem, designated today as Arabs or Southern Semites. Chief among these are the sons of Joktan, or the Joktan Arabs, notably Sheba, Ophir and Havilah. Since Ophir was probably on the Eastern coast of Arabia, Sheba at the South-west of Arabia and Havilah South-west of Babylon, they doubtless represent Arabian communities. The Biblical statement that Joktan was a son of Eber (a descendant of Shem) indicates some kinship between the Babylonians and Southern Arabs, and this is borne out by evidence from outside sources.

(5). The Amorites.

According to the Biblical narratives the Amorites, who were descendants of Canaan (Gen. 10: 16) formed part of the ancient inhabitants of Palestine (Gen. 15: 21; Ex. 3: 8, 17; 23: 23) and occupied a wide extent of territory on both sides of the Jordan (Gen. 14: 7, 13; Deut. 1:: 7, 27). Joshua 10: 5-6 mentions five kings of the Amorites, "kings of the hill-country". Amorites also dwelt east of the Jordan (Num. 21: 13), the Arnon separating them from the Moabites. The Amorites are represented in the ancient inscriptions as a powerful people; their king Sihon before the immigration of Israel had conquered Moabitish territory and built the famous Heshbon as his capital (Num. 21: 26). The Egyptian inscriptions call the land east of Phœnicia and north of Palestine "the land of the A-ma-ra". The people of Amurru are mentioned in the Amarna Letters. See chapter IX for an account of the Canaanites and Phœnicians.

3. ORIGINAL HOME OF THE SEMITES.

Much has been written in recent years on the original home of the Semites, but the question is still involved in obscurity. According to one view the Semites came originally from Armenia. Others claim that the Euphrates valley or some point in Babylonia was the original seat of the Semites. This would accord with a possible interpretation of Gen. 11: 1-9. Others, as Pognon, Sayce and Hommel hold that the original home of the Babylonians (and inferentially of the Semites generally) was Arabia. Some proper names in the old Babylonian are very similar to their cognates in the Minaean or old Arabic dialect.

Thus the root *zadugga* in *Ammi-zadugga,* is not found in the Babylonian-Assyrian dialects, but is common in the South-Semitic languages (Arabic, Sabaean, Ethiopic) as well as in the Canaanite, Hebrew and Aramaic languages. "When we seek for the original home of this oldest of civilized races we are pointed to a region in North Arabia, probably not far from the Lower Euphrates. The Semitic civilization is essentially of nomadic origin. North Arabia is the geographical centre of the race. It is much more likely to have peopled the surrounding highlands than to have been peopled from them. The Arabic language is upon the whole nearest the primitive Semitic speech, as it is by far the oldest and purest of all living tongues [though its literature is by no means the oldest] and its speakers in Arabia belong to the oldest and purest of races. . . . . We assume that the Northern Semites — Babylonians, Aramæans, Canaanites — lived long together apart from the Arabs, who tended always to the centre of the desert" (McCurdy, *Hast. Dic.* V. 87).

This view, held probably by the majority of Semitists, has lately encountered serious opposition. It has been shown, especially by Ranke, that the early settlers in Babylonia were called "sons of the West-land", or Amorites, and that such West-Semitic expressions are of frequent occurrence in the early Babylonian records. Hence the theory that in the distant past, nomads from Syria and Mesopotamia settled in Babylonia and in course of time succeeded in placing a dynasty upon the throne.

4. THE HOME OF THE NORTHERN SEMITES.

Recently the thesis has been defended by Prof. A. T. Clay that "the Semitic Babylonians came from the land of Amurru; that is Syria and Palestine, and that their culture was an amalgamation of what was once Amorite or West-Semitic and the Sumerian which they found in the Euphrates valley. . . . Without attempting to determine the ultimate origin of the Semites, the writer holds that every indication proves that the movement of the Semites was eastward from Amurru[1] and Aram (*i. e.,* from the lands of the West) into Babylonia. In other words, the culture of the Semitic Babylonians points, if not to its origin, at least to a long development in Amurru before it was carried into Babylonia" (pp., 5, 13). Prof. Clay argues cogently that a considerable part of the culture and religion heretofore ascribed to the Babylonians originated in the West-land and was carried eastward through war, commerce and race migration. The traditions of the early chapters of Genesis, as the creation, Sabbath, deluge, and ante-diluvians, and the names of the chief Babylonian gods, as Marduk, Nergal, Ninib, Shamash, etc., are shown to be of West-Semitic origin. According to Clay, the influence of Babylonia in the

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[1] *Amurru, the Home of the Northern Semites.* By A. T. Clay, Ph. D., Phil., 1909. S. S. Times Co.

West, though marked, has been greatly overestimated by the Grafians and Panbabylonists.[2]

Clay's position is a modification of the view that the Arabs first migrated into Mesopotamia and Aram, and then split off in two directions, westward into Canaan and eastward into Babylonia. The researches of Clay and of others in the same field will necessitate a re-examination of the whole question of the origin and character of the culture of Canaan in the third and second millennium B. C. The various hypotheses, old and new, leave the question of the origin of the Semites unsettled. Enough, however, is known to prove that Canaan, in the days of Abraham, was far advanced in civilization.

5. LIGHT ON THE OLD TESTAMENT FROM SEMITIC SOURCES.

It is only within recent years that students of the Old Testament are beginning to see the immense value to be derived from a study of Semitic (that is, Babylonian, Assyrian and Arabic) history, languages and literature. One can scarcely understand the Old Testament in its historical setting and significance without a thorough understanding of the civilization and religion of the surrounding world-powers. McCurdy well says: "The actors in and makers of Bible history were Semites, who did their deeds and said their say within the Semitic realm. Further, the truth of God, as revealed in the Bible, was not merely conveyed to the world through an outward Semitic channel: it was moulded in Semitic minds, colored by the genius of Semitic speech, and put to the proof for the education of the world in Semitic hearts and lives. It is perhaps enough to remind the reader that Moses, David, Elijah, Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, Jeremiah, St. John, St. Paul, and the Son of Man Himself, were Semites" *(Hast. Dic. Bib., V., 83).*

II.

SEMITIC LANGUAGES, AND SYSTEMS OF WRITING.

1. THE SEMITIC FAMILY OF LANGUAGES.

The Semitic family of languages may be divided into two main groups, the North-Semitic and the South-Semitic. The most important of the former are the Babylonian, Assyrian, Aramaic, Hebrew and Phœnician. As Hebrew (the language of the greater part of the Old Testament) and Aramaic (in which parts of Daniel and Ezra are written) are sister dialects of the Semitic group, a knowledge of the cognate languages, (Babylonian, Assyrian, Arabic) is essential to a scientific study of the Old Testament.

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[2] "The excavations by Macalister and others in Palestine point to the fact that the dominant people in the Westland, whom we call Amorites, in the millennium preceding the time of Moses, were Semites; and further . . . there are

2. THE HEBREW LANGUAGE.

(1). Origin of Hebrew.

The origin of the Hebrew language is nowhere recorded and can be determined only from early remains of Hebrew and Semitic speech and from the laws of language development. As Ur of the Chasdim from which Abraham migrated was a Semitic centre, we shall not be surprised to find that the language of the patriarch and his followers shows some affinity with the old Babylonian and Aramaic. It is probable that the tribesmen and descendants of Abraham retained in a large degree their original speech and yet adopted words and expressions from the surrounding people. The common Semitic basis would readily admit of modifications; and thus the Aramaic, Phœnician and Hebrew would come to possess in the lapse of time remarkable agreement and also remarkable differences.

The Biblical account of the Abrahamites, though representing a certain degree of social contact with the Canaanites, portrays the patriarch as pursuing his mission in comparative independence of the natives. And yet linguistic elements were undoubtedly introduced from this source. That in classical Hebrew the word for West is *jam* (sea), for South *negeb* (dryness), for family *beth* (house), for bread *lehem* (food), and so on, proves, not as has been claimed by some writers, that the Hebrew arose in Canaan, but rather that these and like terms, were engrafted on the language or were old words used in a new sense. It is, however, remarkable, that the Phœnicians and Canaanites, with whom the Israelites acknowledged no brotherhood, spoke a language which at least as written differs little from the Biblical Hebrew. But this observation applies to the state of these languages centuries after the call of Abraham. From this one might infer their original identity; in reality, however, a careful study of the Phœnician reveals differences sufficient to constitute a distinct dialect and to favor

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evidences which determine that in the earliest known historical period the Amorite culture was already fully developed, and that it played an important role in influencing other peoples" (Clay, *op. cit.*, p., 28).

the view that the language of the Abrahamites, as of the Phœnicians, was developed along normal lines, each of course dropping or taking up words as the genius of the people prompted.[3]

(2) Antiquity of the Hebrew Language.

In the whole body of the Hebrew literature of the Old Testament, the language, so far as appears from its general character, and irrespective of minor changes of form and style, occupies essentially the same plane of development. It probably at an early period assumed a fixed state as to literary forms; and the transmission of its literature in the form of books esteemed as sacred would tend to preserve the ancient coloring. The Hebrew literature in our possession extends from about 1500 B. C. to a few centuries before the Christian era. In the earliest books of the Bible the language is in an advanced state of perfection both as regards the lexical and grammatical development and the copiousness of words. The later books of the O. T. show no marked superiority in the language; and those points in which they differ often partake of a certain degeneracy as if arising from the influence of other Semitic dialects. The purest Hebrew is in the incontestably oldest Scriptures. Even at the earliest period of which we have any extended record, the language appears so highly developed that a considerable degree of literary activity must have preceded.

Naturally enough there is a development in the Hebrew of the Old Testament, so that some writers distinguish two, others three periods; but the difference between the early and the classic period, while noticeable, may be easily exaggerated. Ewald writes: "Hebrew passed through three successive stages. The writings from the time of Moses show Hebrew already formed and essentially the same as that of more recent times. It must therefore even then have been very old. In the second period, dating from the kings, it shows symptoms of divergence into two styles, an ordinary and a more artistic one. The third begins with the seventh century before our era; it is a period of decay, during which it is constantly encroached upon by the Aramaic tongue" *(Lehrbuch d. Hebr. Sprache.)*. Bissell says: "While differences of style may be recognized to some extent, even within the limits of the Hebrew of the Pentateuch it is often quite as likely to be due to a difference in the matter treated as to diverse authorship or date. In any case, the style of the Priest's Code, assigned by Wellhausen to the Exile, must be admitted to have the peculiar coloring of the most ancient Biblical Hebrew" *(The Pentateuch)*.

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[3] It may be noted that the old Assyrian which preceded Aramaic in regions to which the narrative in Genesis points as the original home of Abraham is in some respects similar to the Hebrew. As the exact movements of the early Semitic races are involved in obscurity, even in the cuneiform inscriptions, and as the Biblical account of the Israelites is brief, the data for determining the actual development of the language in Canaan are meager and preclude a too confident expression of opinion one way or the other. Delitzsch (Franz) comments on Gen. 31: 47 thus: "The Terahites, who remained in Mesopotamia, became acquainted there during the one hundred and eighty years which elapsed between Abraham's migration into Canaan and this occurrence on the mountain of Gilead with the Aramaic speech of the country, but in the family of Abraham the Babylonian-Assyrian, which differed less than the Aramaic from the tongue of the Canaanites who had migrated there (from the Erythrian sea) was spoken" *(Com. on Gen.,* II, 96). Such is essentially the view of recent Hebrew grammarians. Koenig says: "Aus seiner chaldaeisch-babylonischen Heimath hat Abraham einen Dialekt mitgebracht, welcher aehnlich demjenigen war, welchen vorher in benachbarten Gegenden wahrscheinlich die Kanaaniter oder Phœnicier bei ihrem Abzuge nach Westen zu lernen angefangen hatten" *(Hebraeische Sprache, I,* 16).

The antiquity of Hebrew is shown: (a) from archaisms, especially the names of persons and places, and from fixed forms, chiefly in poetry; (b) from the phenomena of extant words, which point, according to the laws and analogies of sounds, to an earlier stage of the language; (c) from a comparison of related languages, especially the Arabic, in which the early character of the Semitic (and Hebrew) is largely preserved; (d) from the Canaanite glosses in the Amarna Letters, which as reflecting the state of the language in the fifteenth pre-Christian century furnish new proof that the Hebrew and Canaanite dialects reached a relative permanence at a much earlier date than formerly supposed.

3. DEFINITION OF WRITING.

Since the oldest extant writings are of Semetic origin we may pause here to define writing. To write means either "to trace or inscribe on a surface in letters or ideographs characters that represent sounds or ideas", or "to compose or produce in writing" *(Stand. Dic.)*, especially as an author. The two senses are complementary, since to compose in writing of course presupposes writing. If, however, to compose be understood in the sense of expressing thought in a orderly manner by means of language, the tracing in characters is no necessary part. Here the term is used in the former sense. Writing, though one of the earliest of the arts, is also one of the slowest in development, centuries having been required for its progress from the first rude stages to its relative perfection in the Phœnician alphabet. To the layman phonetic spelling is a very simple affair, but the student of language knows that an alphabet is the final result of centuries of theory and practice in the use of written characters.

The kinds of ancient writing of every description (pictorial, hieroglyphic, syllabic) are numerous; but all may be reduced to a half dozen types, as the Chinese, Hittite, Aegean, cuneiform, Egyptian and Phœnician. The first of these having no direct influence on European or Semitic scripts, and the second and third not having as yet been deciphered, it is only the last three which have historic value in the development of writing. These we describe briefly.

4. EXCURSUS: CUNEIFORM OR BABYLONIAN-ASSYRIAN WRITING.

(1). *General Character of Cuneiform Writing.*

The cuneiform system of writing derives its name from the wedge-like form of the symbols (Latin, *cuneus,* wedge). Originally the wedges were carefully drawn pictures resembling at least remotely the objects imitated. The wedges appear at first glance as a wilderness of short lines running in all directions without order or regularity. Closer examination reveals something of system. The signs are arranged in lines running horizontally for the most part, and read from left to right, most of the wedges standing upright or inclining to the right. These wedges, either singly or in combination, represent ideas, or syllables. See Chart, cols. I and II.

(2). *Ideograms and Phonograms.*

In cuneiform writing one must grasp clearly the distinction between ideograms and phonograms. An ideogram (Greek, *Idea-writing*) may have more than one meaning, but frequently a relation, ideal or physical, exists between the several meanings. Thus the sign for booty stands also for the verb, *to capture,* and the sign for mouth represents the verb *to speak.* A second and higher stage was reached in the phonograms (Greek, *sound-writing),* which were signs representing syllables. The phonographic value comes at once from the name of the object represented by the ideogram. Thus the same sign stands for *risu,* head, as an ideogram and for *ris* as a phonogram; the ideogram *katu,* hand, gives us the phonogram *kat.* This may be approximately illustrated in English by the mnemonic lines, "A is for ax, B is for box, C is for cat, etc.," in which the pictures of the ax, box, cat (ideograms) also stand for the initial sounds. Babylonian and Assyrian writing is in general a union of ideograms and phonograms in varying proportions. About a hundred of the phonograms are used more than all the rest combined; and the student who memorizes these thoroughly, together with a limited number of ideograms, and determinatives, has a good foundation for reading the ordinary historical texts. Many additional phonograms must be learned if one wishes to read the more difficult texts. The reading of cuneiform is greatly facilitated by the employment of certain ideograms called determinatives, which show the class of objects to which the world belongs.

They stand with the names of gods, men, women, animals, rivers, etc., and serve to restrict otherwise doubtful meanings of the signs.

The Assyriologist F. Delitzsch writes: "The Bab. cuneiform script underwent no essential change of system during its remarkably long period of over 3000 years. It remained always what it had been from the beginning, a mixed ideographic and syllabic script; but it underwent many changes in the outer form of the characters. The constantly widening use of the system required a simplification of the complicated characters of the archaic script, and there took place systematically a change from the old to the new Bab. script, as well as to the new Assyrian. . . . The oldest forms are assumed to be those of Tello (de Sarzec) and of Nippur (Hilprecht). The inventors were masters in the art of combining ideas and characters" *(Entstehung d. Aelt. Schriftsystems).* Delitzsch reaches the conclusion that "the whole number of Bab. signs, out of which the whole system of 410 characters was developed can be reduced to 45 or at most 50". By the varied combination of these ideograms and phonograms, the whole number of signs runs up into many thousands, rendering the dicipherment of some inscriptions an exceedingly complicated process.

(3). *The Babylonian Scribe.*

Maspero vividly describes the Babylonian scribe: "The position of a scribe was an important one. We continually meet with it in all grades of society, in the palace, the temple, the store-houses, the private dwellings; in fine the scribe was ubiquitous, at court, in the town, in the country, in the army, managing affairs both small and great, and seeing that they were carried on regularly. His education differed but little from that given to the Egyptian scribe: he learned the routine of administrative or judicial affairs, the formularies of correspondence either with nobles or with ordinary people, the art of calculating quickly and of making out bills correctly. Not papyrus, but the same clay which furnished the architect with such abundant building material appears to have been the only medium for transmitting the language. The scribes were always provided with slabs of a fine plastic clay, carefully mixed and kept sufficiently moist to take easily the impression of an object, but at the same time sufficiently firm to prevent the marks once made from becoming either blurred or effaced. When the writing was finished, the scribe sent his work to the potter, who put it in the kiln and baked it, or the writer may have had a small oven at command." *(Dawn of Civilization).*

(4). *Priests as Scribes.*

It will throw light on Old Testament usage if we recall that the scribe was usually a priest attached to one of the temples. "As a priest he was required to have not only a knowledge of the religious rites, but also of the ritual, and in connection with the ritual, of the religious literature, consisting of hymns, prayers, penitential psalms, incantations, oracles and portents. In addition to the practical training he received for acting as the recorder of commercial transactions and of the orders of the court and other legal business, the young aspirant to priestly distinction had to extend his knowledge beyond mere expertness in routine work. . . . His introduction to the literary treasures of a religious character was the last step in the education he received. . . . What he needed for understanding the hymns and prayers were commentaries explaining the different words and passages. These were either directly attached to the texts themselves, being inserted as notes in smaller characters at the proper place, or special tablets were prepared to go with the texts, in which all the comment needed was given. Such comment was particularly required for texts written wholly or in part in the ideographic method" (M. Jastrow, *Bib. World, IX,* 266).

(5). *Babylonian Syllabaries.*

The Babylonians and Assyrians studied their language scientifically and bequeathed a great mass of material useful to the modern inquirer. There was a guild of philologists, who drew up lists of signs, simple and compound, with their meanings. These lists, written in three or four columns, are technically called *Syllabaries.*[3] Fortunately some of the Assyrian text-books have been discovered, from which it is possible to form an idea of the manner in which the future scribe learned his letters. Since it was necessary to learn not merely the usual meaning of the 400 signs, but the many possible meanings in different combinations, it was a herculean task to become proficient in writing and reading cuneiform. Years of study were required. Some of the thousands of tablets in the royal libraries contained a kind of dictionary of the chief meanings of the signs, or of their syllabic value.

5. EXCURSUS: EGYPTIAN WRITING.

We come now to the second of the three chief systems of writing, the Egyptian. It consists of three styles, the hieroglyphic, hieratic and demotic. The hieroglyphic, though found occasionally in manuscripts, is that of almost all the monuments. The hieratic is a cursive form of the hieroglyphic. The hieroglyphic signs were well adapted to monuments, but not suitable for papyrus, and so the signs rapidly assumed a shorter form used in papyrus rolls. A still more cursive form was the Demotic, used at a later period in the ordinary affairs of life. The hieroglyphic texts runs from left to right, or right to left, now in horizontal, now in perpendicular lines. Generally hieratic papyri are in horizontal lines from left to right.

(1). *Pictorial and Ideographic.*

The essential characteristic of the Egyptian hieroglyphics is that all the forms except those for number were originally pictures of objects. In looking at a hieroglyphic text, we see a multitude of pictures of men, women, human hands, eyes, legs, birds, beasts, insects, reptiles, and the like; also pictures not so easily understood, as circles, squares, ovals, curved lines and small segments of circles. Originally the forms were probably correct pictures of the objects. Thus the circle represents the sun, the curved line the moon, the oval an egg. This kind of writing, called pictorial, is very primitive and is employed by nearly every people emerging from a semi-barbarous state. But the Egyptians early passed beyond this stage into the ideographic, in which the picture acquires the force of a symbol. Thus the circle represents not only the sun, but also day, or eternity; and a curved line not only

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[4] The most complete of these are printed in Delitzsch's *Assyrische Lesestuecke,* 4te Auflage, Seite 83-116.

the moon, but a mouth; an oval meant not merely an egg, but a child. Again, the forepart of a lion meant the beginning of anything, and the hind-quarters the end; the figure of a pen and ink stood for writing, or a scribe, and so on. Other signs were still more obscure. A bee stood for a king, or monarchical government; a vulture stood for a mother (there being according to the Egyptians no male vulture, each vulture was a mother), a leg within a strap meant deceit, and an ostrich feather, justice (because all the feathers were supposed to be of equal length). "The idea of thirst was represented by a calf running toward water, power, by a brandished whip, and battle by two arms, one holding a shield, the other a javelin".

(2). *Phonetic and Syllabic Stage.*

The practice of expressing ideas by pictures was early carried to a high stage by the Egyptians. But this method led to such a multitude of signs and pictures, that often uncertainty arose as to which one of several meanings was intended by the signs. In connected speech there must be sentences made up of nouns, verbs, adjectives and other parts; and syllabism, however suggestive, is unable to express these. Moreover, ideas are so numerous and varied that there would be hardly enough signs "to go round." The Egyptians resorted to a happy expedient by which symbols gradually acquired a phonetic and syllabic value, the precursor of the alphabet. We may illustrate this by the sentence: "I saw a boy swallow a goose-berry". If we should write in succession the pictures of an eye, a saw, a boy, a swallow, a goose, and a berry, the picture of the eye would stand, rebus-like, for the pronoun "I"; that is it would represent a sound or be used phonetically. Again, the nouns *saw* and *swallow* would be read as verbs, and so on.

This comparatively simple device was soon elaborated. A large proportion of the hieroglyphics are really phonetic, standing either for syllables or letters. The Egyptians like the Phœnicians resolved speech into its elements and expressed these elements by signs which are virtually letters. In choosing the sign, they selected some common object whose initial element was identical with the sound they wished to represent. "Thus *Akhom* being the name of an eagle in Egyptian, the eagle was made the sign of its initial sound A; the name of an owl in Egyptian being *moulag*, the figure of an owl was made to express M. But, unfortunately, the Egyptians did not stop here. Not content with fixing on one such sign in each case to express each elementary sound, they for the most part adopted several. An eagle, the leaf of a water-plant, and a hand and arm to the elbow were alike employed to represent the sound A. The sound B was expressed by a human leg and foot, and also by a bird like a crane, and by an object resembling a flower-pot. For M there were four principal signs, an owl, two parallel straight lines, joined at one end by a diagonal, a form something like a sickle, and a sort of double-headed baton. There were four forms for T, three for N, for K, for S, for J, and for H, while there were two for L, or R, (which the Egyptians regarded the same), two for SH, two for I, for U, and for P. The letters F and D were about the only ones that were represented uniformly by a single hieroglyphic, the former by the cerastes or horned snake, the latter by a hand with the palm upwards" (Rawlinson, *Hist. Anc. Egypt,* I,). Egyptian consonants have their complementary vowel (though most consonantal signs can be used with any of the vowels) which may often be treated as an expletive. A period of at least a thousand years was required for the development from the earliest to the latest stage of Egyptian syllabic writing.

(3). Determinatives.

The Egyptian writing, like the cuneiform, made use of determinatives, generally after proper names. Thus a word followed by the picture of a man represents his name; and one followed by a sitting figure with a beard is the proper name of a god. Classes and genera are also accompanied by determinatives. Thus the names of classes of birds are followed by the figure of a bird, of reptiles by the picture of a snake and of plants by a water-plant. So also of animals. Thus the picture of an elephant followed by the determinative for beast means elephant *(yebu)*; but the same figure followed by the sign of a city means the city of that name, Yebu (Elephantine).

(4). Selected Syllables or Letters.

In course of time the pictures, ideograms, and phonograms reached the prodigious number of several thousand — obviously an apparatus too unwieldy for the ordinary purposes of life. The scribes came to restrict themselves to the more appropriate signs. At first some 45 characters were selected, but these were finally reduced to 25. [These characters are given in our Chart, col. V. and VI]. It may be observed that the Egyptian alphabets which one sees in different books differ somewhat from the above chiefly because of a difference of opinion as to the characters employed to express certain letters.

(5). Knowledge of Writing among the Common People.

Naturally it required hard study and continual practice before skill could be acquired in writing the hieroglyphic, or hieratic; and for the more difficult kinds of writing professional scribes were in demand, just as in Babylonia; but it would appear that a relatively large number of the common people in Egypt learned at least the simpler or shorter forms of writing. Maspero gives an interesting account of the "Schoolboy" at his task: "There was no public school in which the scribe could be prepared for his future career; but as soon as a child had acquired the rudiments of letters with some old pedagogue, his father took him with him to his office or entrusted him to some friend who agreed to undertake his education. The apprentice observed what went on around him, imitated the mode of procedure of the employer, copied in his spare time old papers, letters, bills, petitions, reports, or complimentary addresses, all of which his patron examined and corrected, noting on the margin letters or words imperfectly written and recasting the incorrect expressions. As soon as he could put together a certain number of characters without mistake, he was allowed to draw bills, or to have the sole charge of some department, his work being gradually increased in difficulty. When he was considered sufficiently *au courant* with the ordinary business, his education was declared to be finished". *(Dawn of Civ.)*.

6. NO TRUE ALPHABET PRIOR TO PHOENICIAN.

Neither the Babylonians nor the Egyptians ever devised a true alphabet, although the Egyptians were near it, and one would suppose could have made the transition at any time. Breasted holds that alphabetic letters were discovered in Egypt twenty-five hundred years before their use by any other people. "Had the Egyptian been less a creature of habit, he might have discarded his syllabic signs 3500 years before Christ and have written with an alphabet of 24 letters" (p. 45). As a matter of fact, however, the so-called Phœnician Alphabet was the first to combine in a simple, convenient and universally applicable system the elements or letters necessary for the reproduction of sounds; and as this was the script employed by the Hebrews in the historical period it is of interest to know the date of its origin (whatever that may have been) and of its adoption in Israel. Chart, cols. XII, XXVI, etc.

CHAPTER IV.

ANTIQUITY OF WRITING AND LITERATURE IN EGYPT, BABYLONIA, AND CANAAN.

I.

ANTIQUITY OF EGYPTIAN WRITING AND LITERATURE.

Undoubted proof exists that writing was employed for literary purposes at a very early period. The question is not whether writing was current at the date of the Exodus, but how many thousand years before that time. Every year the evidence increases that the introduction of writing was in a remote past. The antiquity of Egyptian literature is universally admitted.

I. THE OLD EMPIRE.

The pyramids afford ample proof that a high civilization was attained under the kings of the Old Empire (3400-2475 B. C.) and that literature flourished. "A large part of the literature of Egypt comes down to us in the shape of historical inscriptions graven upon pyramids, obelisks, walls of temples and stelae. The sentences are sometimes short and abrupt; but frequently they have a kind of rhythm which is exceedingly fine, and, owing to the parallism of members, reminds us of many of the Psalms. If, however, we were required to depend upon stone sculptures for our idea of Egyptian literature, we should not have an adequate idea at all. Though the early pyramid texts with their rubrics reveal to us the inscriptions which were fitting for funereal monuments, they give us no idea of the wonderful fairy stories which we obtain from the papyri. The hieratic writing was the writing of the priests, and as the learning of Egypt was locked up in the breasts of this caste, we must look to their works to understand what the literature of Egypt was. It must not be imagined that the hieratic is the only sort of writing found on papyrus; on the contrary, we find many papyrus copies of the Book of the Dead in hieroglyphics. Still, a very large number of the most interesting compositions are found on papyrus in hieratic" (Budge, *Dwellers on the Nile.* 99).

Parts of the Book of the Dead profess to date from this early period. Tela, son of the first Pharaoh, according to Manetho, is said to have written a work on anatomy. A papyrus roll of the most remote age, bought by Ebers in Thebes, describes in archaic language a famous prescription for making the hair grow. More important is the claim, if correct, that the writings of the Pharaohs on medical subjects reach back as far as the first Dynasty. Under the last king of the third Dynasty, numerous inscriptions were cut in the steep wall of rock in the Wady-Magharah. There are valuable inscriptions from the fourth Dynasty. The second collection of "Proverbs" in the Prisse Papyrus is believed to date from the fifth Dynasty. One of the princes of this Dynasty is described on a tomb in Memphis as "the royal scribe of the palace, the Master of writing, who serves as a light to all the writing in the house of Pharaoh". Brugsch says of the beautiful tomb of Thi erected during the fifth Dynasty, that "the inscriptions carved in hieroglyphics and filled in with color, give a clear significance to the pictures" and indicate great progress in writing. "In the documents of these early Dynasties the writing is in such an archaic form that many of the scanty fragments which we possess from this age are as yet unintelligible to us. Yet it was the medium of recording medical and religious texts, to which in later times a peculiar sanctity and effectiveness were attributed" (Breasted, *Hist. Egypt*, 45). One of these is the so-called "Ebony-Tablet of Menes" (3400 B. C.). The Berlin Museum possesses a legal document pertaining to litigation between an heir and an executor, dating from the Old Empire. It is the oldest document of the kind in existence (Breasted, *op. cit.*, 81). Inscriptions found at Tanis, El-Kab, Memphis show that under the Pharaohs of the sixth Dynasty, various styles of writing were in vogue.

2. THE MIDDLE EMPIRE. (2160-1580 B. C.).

The seventh and eighth Dynasties yield us practically no records. The period of confusion during Dynasties 7 to 11 is naturally lacking in literary remains of a high order; but we have many inscriptions. Among these is an elaborate description of the first voyage to Ophir. In the period of the powerful monarchs of the twelfth Dynasty, the Amenemhets and Usertesens, art and literature flourished. This is the classic period in which the system of writing attains a consistent regularity, and every department of literature is well represented. The first Pharaoh of this Dynasty in the instructions written for his son (in Salier Papyrus II) speaks of the troubles consuming the land. The classic story of Sinuhe dates from this period. A document on parchment in the Berlin Museum renders it clear that Usertsen I was a patron of literature, of which the great obelisk at On, cut with beautiful hieroglyphics in the red granite, affords a proof. The long inscription of Ameni, the latter part of which is supposed to contain an allusion to the seven years' famine in Joseph's time, dates from this period. An inscription in the Louvre is dated in the ninth year of Usertsen I. The inscriptions from this period, as that over Khunhotep's rock-tomb at Beni-Hassan, indicate a high state of graphic and literary art.

Positive proof exists that inscriptions adorning the walls of the rock-chambers of tombs belong to the 13th Dynasty. Many papyri, of this period, have suvived, as the "Story of the Sekhti", the "Shipwrecked Sailor" and "the Westcar Papyrus of Tales". "A system of uniform orthography, hitherto lacking, was now developed and followed by skilled scribes with consistency. A series of model letters studied by the school-boys of the 20th cent. B. C. has survived, and they show with what pains composition was studied. The language of this age and its literary products were in later times regarded as classic, and in spite of its excessive artificialities, the judgment of modern study confirms that of the Empire. . . . . So many of the compositions of the Egyptian scribe are couched in poetic language that it is difficult to distinguish between poetry and prose. . . . . . Of the literature of the age we may say that it now displays a wealth of imagery and a fine mastery of *form* which five hundred years earlier, at the close of the Old Kingdom, was but just emerging. The *content* of the surviving works does not display evidence of constructive ability in the larger sense involving both form and content; it *lacks general coherence*" (Breasted, *Op. cit.* pp. 203, 207,-8.). Nearly all the inscriptions contemporary with the Hyksos have disappeared from Egyptian soil, having been destroyed by the native kings.

3. THE NEW EMPIRE (1580-945 B. C.).

Under the New Empire, beginning with Ahmose I, 18th Dynasty, the evidences of writing and literature meet us on all sides. It is impossible to enter into details. Inscriptions of every kind, historical, poetical, mythological, mortuary, abound. One of the most interesting compositions is the "Battle of Kadesh" (formerly called the "Poem of Pentaur") celebrating the victory of Rameses I over the Hittites. The author's perception of dramatic action is remarkable. "A copy of this composition on papyrus was made by a scribe named Pentewere (Pentaur), who was misunderstood by early students of the document to be the author of the poem" (Breasted, p. 453). While in the Middle Kingdom folk-tales with a historical back-ground had sprung up, by far the better class of this kind of literature dates from the 19th Dynasty. The story of the conflict between the Hyksos king Apophis and Sekenere relates in popular form the expulsion of the Hyksos. Many other productions of a similar character are extant.

The preceding brief account will suffice to show that for three thousand years the Egyptians cultivated writing and literature, and that the climax was reached in the Dynasty preceding the Exodus. May we not suppose that with all such incentives before them, the Hebrews during their sojourn in Egypt would acquire the art of writing and a taste for cultivating literature?

II.

EXCURSUS: THE ANTIQUITY OF BABYLONIAN-ASSYRIAN LITERATURE.[1]

As we are concerned here in determining to what extent writing was current in Bible lands at a date sufficiently early to warrant the inference that Hebrew literature flourished in early times, we deal primarily with the periods contemporary with or antedating the appearance of the Hebrews on the stage of history.

A. ASSYRIAN LITERATURE.

The Assyrians were a military rather than a literary people and sustained a relation to the Babylonians similar to that of the Romans to the Greeks; they appreciated, copied and imitated the literature of their predecessors. Thus it happens that from about 1100 to 600 B. C., we have an immense body of Babylonian-Assyrian literature, partly original works of native writers and partly copies of Babylonian literature. Indeed not a little of the Babylonian literature has been transmitted to us by the Assyrians. The language of these two people was essentially the same. This literature consists of prose and poetry. "The former class consists of royal inscriptions (relating to military and religious affairs) chronological tables, legal documents, grammatical tables, lists of omens, and lucky and unlucky days, and letters and reports passing between kings and governors; the latter class includes cosmogonic poems, an epic poem in twelve lines, magic formulas, and incantations, and prayers to deities. The prose pieces, with scarcely an exception, belong to the historical period, and may be dated with something like accuracy. The same thing is true of a part of the poetical material, particularly the prayers; but the cosmogonic and other mythical poems appear to go back, at least, so far as their material is concerned, to a very remote antiquity, and it is difficult to assign them a definite date" (C. H. Toy, *Lib. World's Best Literature).*

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[1] In addition to the sources themselves and the usual authorities, we make liberal use of Weber's *"Literatur der Babylonier und Assyrer,"* Leipzig, 1907.

We record here merely the most important of the historical inscriptions: as, the Prism Inscription of Tiglathpileser I, 1120-1100 B. C.; the Standard Inscription and the Broken Obelisk of Ashurnazirpal III, 885-60; the Black Obelisk of Shalmaneser II, 860-25; the Slab Inscription of Adadnirarri III, 812; the Cylinder Inscription of Sargon, 722-05; the Taylor Cylinder of Sennacherib, 705; and the Six Sided Prism of Esarhaddon, 681; and many others.

From all this it is clear that throughout their whole history the Assyrians were thoroughly conversant with writing, and the scribe was a well-known character. How was it in the earlier period?

B. BABYLONIAN LITERATURE.

1. *Immense Extent.*

The ancient Bab. literature covers a period of 3000 years and all departments of thought. By literature is here meant, compositions not handed down orally, but permanently preserved in writing. The Babylonians and Assyrians were the best record-keepers of the ancient world, writing down accurately the most important events. Explorations in recent years have proved beyond cavil that a very old, if not the oldest civilization in the world, had its seat in Southern and Central Babylonia. As early as 4000-3000 B. C., painting, engraving and writing were carried to a high degree of perfection. The written material from ancient Babylonia consists of a vast store of tablets, "which now number certainly not less than one hundred and sixty thousand in the various museums of the world.[2] These tablets contain a literature as varied in form and content as it is vast in extent. In the end all of this literature may be considered as sources for history. Every business tablet is dated, and from these dates much may be learned for chronology, while even in the tablets themselves there is matter relating to the daily life of the people. . . . . Even little statuettes and vases bear the royal mark, while the bricks used in the erection of large buildings were stamped with the king's name and the name of the land over which he ruled" (Roger's, *Hist. Bab. and Ass.).*

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[2] "I would say, there are fully 1,000,000 tablets in Museums and in the hands of private persons" (A. T. Clay, in private letter).

2. *Poetical Literature.*

We have a large body of texts which establish the claim that the Babylonians cultivated literature in the form of both prose and poetry. The poetry, though largely secular, has an underlying religious tone, as seen in the numerous hymns to the gods and in the penitential psalms. As to form the elements of meter were observed, the verse being divided into two nearly equal parts. As to content, the most important are the so-called epic poems, which have come down to us in a comparatively pure form. Thus (1) *The Creation Epic* covers in a general way the same ground as Genesis I, but from a grossly polytheistic stand-point. In its present form it is of rather late date, not before the seventh cent. B. C., and reflects the ideas of that period. The original work is of much earlier date, as shown by the language. This is the poem which some of the most radical O. T. critics regard as the source of Gen. 1, but the spirit, content and conception of the O. T narrative are so far superior that comparison is out of the question. (2). *The Gilgamesch Epic,* is a magnificent poem of 12 tablets, whose hero Gilgamesch becomes king of Erech, where he holds sovereign sway, until the gods create Engidu to destroy him. But Ishtar, the goddess of love, appears on the scene, and after a series of marvellous exploits described in a vivid style, the hero comes off victor. Attempts have been made, but unsuccessfully, to connect the hero with the Biblical Nimrod. (3). *The Story of the Deluge,* found in the 11th tablet of the preceding Epic, is the Bab. account of the Flood and contains some points of similarity, but many more of dissimilarity, with the Biblical account. Driver, though claiming that "the resemblances with the Biblical narrative are too numerous and too marked to be due to accident", allows that the Genesis account "has a new character stamped upon it; and it becomes a symbolical embodiment of ethical and religious truth. It marks an epoch in the religious history of mankind" *(Genesis,* p., 107). Other poems are the Etana-Legend, the Legend of the god Zu and that of the god Urra, of very early date. Some interest attaches to a poem recounting the invasion of Babylonia by Kudur-Dugumal, regarded by some as the Chedorlaomer of Gen. XIV.

3. *Prose Literature.*

(1). *Historical Literature.* The best examples of Bab. and Ass. literature are the longer historical inscriptions of the later periods. The earlier inscriptions, though shorter, testify to the wonderful skill and activity in the art of writing. There are a few inscriptions of unusual length; among them two prayers of Gudea, each having about 2000 lines. We must conclude that writing was well known long before 3000 B. C. In his excavations at Tello, de Sarzec discovered thousands of clay tablets of a date varying from 2500 to 3200 B. C. "With regard to their age, these tablets cover a considerable period. Some of them antedate the Dynasty of Ur-Nina (4000 B. C.); others bear the name of Urukagina, king of Shirpurla, whose time has not been fixed definitely; again others belong to the age of Sargon I and

Naram-Sin and are of inestimable value for their dates; a few are the documents from the reign of Gudea (2700); by far the largest mass of the tablets removed belongs to the powerful members of the later Dynasty of Ur about 2500 B. C." (Hilprecht, *Excavations in Bible Lands,* 249). A few of the bricks found in the pavement of the temple at Nippur contain inscriptions of Sargon I, the reputed builder, and of Naram-Sin.[3]

Another city attaining a high civilization was Ur, whence Abraham migrated (Gen. 11: 28, 31,). "Even before the Days of Sargon the city of Ur had an existence and government of its own" (Roger's, *Hist.* I, 372). About a thousand years later Ur again became the center of great literary activity. All sources of information testify that "Ur of the Chasdim" in the time of Abraham was a great political and literary metropolis in which literature was extensively cultivated.

Ur-Gur, a builder of temples, has left us a considerable number of inscriptions at Mugheir, Erech, Larsa, and Nippur. The Erech of Gen. 10: 10 was one of the sacred cities of Babylonia and enjoyed great prestige as a shrine of the goddess Ishtar. Inscriptions of Dungi have been found at Ur, Erech, Cutha, etc. For a number of centuries to the rise of Babylon, the inscriptions vary in character, but furnish undoubted evidence of literary activity and the general cultivation of writing. A new era began with Hammurabi, who according to the ancient sources, was a strong and energetic personality with the ability to originate and execute far-reaching plans. His life and works are fully described in some fifty letters written by himself and in the Chronology of the Kings. The excavator's spade has uncovered many literary treasures of his time. As many of these are dated there can be little doubt as to their origin.

Toward the close of the Cassite rule, Babylon began to decline, and other peoples, as the Egyptians, Hittites, Amorites, and Assyrians appeared upon the stage of Asiatic history. The Babylonian language and the cuneiform script were the chief vehicles of literary expression, and while in the interval between Hammurabi (2000—1950 B. C.) and the Amarna period (1400) the strictly historical material is scanty, abundant evidence exists that literature was cultivated.

(2). Legal Literature. Already at an early date, the Babylonians developed what may be called legal literature in the broad sense, including laws, contracts, and deeds. The extensive business relations led to a great variety of legal documents, as pledges, wills and testaments. "Legal documents constitute by far the larger portion of the inscriptions which have come down to us from every period of Bab.

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[3] The date of Sargon I is computed from indirect proof. Nabonidus the last king of Babylon states that while restoring a temple of the sun-god, he came upon the foundation-stone of Naram-Sin, the son of Sargon, which had been hidden 3200 years. Since the date of Nabonidus is 550 B. C., Naram-Sin, on this calculation, ruled in 3750 and Sargon in 3800. The accuracy of this result depends on the altogether precarious and otherwise unsupported statement of Nabonidus. "The chronological systems of the later Ass. and Bab. scribes, which were formerly regarded as of primary importance, have been brought into discredit by the scribes themselves. From their own discrepancies it has been shown that the native chronologists could make mistakes in their reckonings, and a possible source of error has been disclosed in the fact that some of the early dynasties, which were formerly regarded as consecutive, were actually contemporaneous" (King, *Hist. Sumer and Akkad).* The date of Sargon I is now generally given as 2650 B. C. (King).

and Ass. history. In the library of Ashurbanipal alone they are exceeded by the letters and even more by the works dealing with astrology and omens." (Johns, *Bab. and Ass. Laws, Contracts and Letters, 10*). The range of subjects includes all matters needing regulation in a highly civilized community. That which concerns us especially is the date of this kind of writing, which extends from the earliest period of recorded history to the close of the Bab. kingdom, *i. e.* from 4500 to 500, during every period of which we have proof of literature of this character, and thus of our thesis that writing was one of the necessary accompaniments of Bab. civilization.

The Hammurabi Code. The discovery in 1901 of the laws of Hammurabi, the oldest *Codex juris* in the world, is a remarkable proof that as early as 2000 B. C., an elaborate legal code was committed to writing and perhaps published in different parts of the empire. As this code is alleged to have had some influence on the Mosaic legislation we describe it briefly. It covers such subjects as oaths, theft, land tenure, damages, marriage, adultery, divorce, inheritance, adopted children, the *jus talionis* and slavery, and in some respects runs parallel with the Book of the Covenant (Ex. 21: 1-23; 33). Deducting the missing parts, the Code has 248 paragraphs, the Book of the Covenant 100 verses; the Code is five times longer, but each has a large amount of matter not found in the other. The following are some of the chief parallels:

Hammurabi Code.	*Mosaic Covenant.*
If a son strike his father, they shall cut off his fingers (§ 195).	He that smiteth his father or mother shall be surely put to death (Ex. 21: 15).
If a man steal a man's son, who is a minor, he shall be put to death (§ 14).	He that stealeth a man and selleth him, of if he be found in his hand, he shall surely be put to death (Ex. 21: 16).
If a man strike another in a quarrel and wound him he shall swear: "I struck him without intent," and he shall be responsible for the physician (§ 206).	If men contend and one smite the other with a stone or with his fist, and he die not, but keep his bed . . . . . he shall pay for the loss of his time and shall cause him to be thoroughly healed (Ex. 21: 18, 19).
If a man destroy the eye of another man they shall destroy his eye. If he break a man's bone, they shall break his bone. If a man knock out a tooth of a man of his own rank, they shall knock out his tooth (§§ 196, 197, 200).	If any harm follow, then thou shalt give life for life, eye for eye, tooth for tooth, hand for hand, burning for burning, wound for wound, stripe for stripe (Ex. 21: 23-25).

Three views have been entertained regarding these and other similarities. The first is that little or no influence was exerted by the Code on the Covenant, the laws being such as would be found in the ancient world generally. The second view is that the influence is direct, the common Babylonian law having found its way into the

Covenant. According to the third theory the influence was *indirect.* "The Covenant has Babylonian elements, but it is not Babylonian in spirit. Like the accounts of the Creation and the Deluge in Genesis, the old material is incorporated in a new system of thought and moulded in a new form. The difference is one of ethical setting and purpose. The moral undertone of the Covenant, reverence toward God, love to neighbor, humane treatment of animals and the great underlying thought of the Decalog, are lacking in the Code Hammurabi."[4]

(3). Epistolary Literature. The origin of letter-writing is unknown. As early as Sargon I, a kind of postal system existed. Packages of goods were forwarded, and with them small blocks of clay containing the address of the recipient. The greeting "Peace" *(Shulumu,* Heb. *Shalom)* or "Peace to thee" is very common. We have letters from all periods of Babylonian history. For a thousand years prior to the Exodus letters had passed to and fro between Babylon and the Mediterranean. The letters of Hammurabi constitute perhaps the most valuable of the earlier series. These letters, some fifty of which are addressed to one and the same man, relate chiefly to administrative affairs, as the collecting of taxes, recovery of stolen goods, the punishment for bribery, etc. Since all the letters of Hammurabi seem to be in the same hand, it is inferred that they were written by one scribe. Some peculiar expressions, however, indicate that the king sometimes wrote with his own hand. But generally official documents were executed by professional scribes. Since some of the letters are addressed to agents, overseers, and tax-collectors, it may be inferred that in the third millennium B. C. the middle-class Babylonian could write in the complicated cuneiform script.

(4). Religious Literature. In a certain sense the religious element is present in much of Babylonian literature. Even a business compact, being bound by an oath, partook of a religious character. But apart from this, there existed several kinds of special religious literature, as the magical texts, the hymns and prayers, omens and forecasts, the cosmology and legends. Of these it may be said in general that though we possess them mostly in copies of the Assyrian period, they go back to a much earlier time. Some of the magical texts come down to us from the age of Hammurabi.

(5). Anonymity of Babylonian-Assyrian Literature. A remarkable peculiarity of Babylonian and Assyrian literature is its wholly impersonal and anonymous character, due to the dominant desire to reproduce traditional forms and models. There is little originality of style, because none is aimed at. "If we leave out of account the additions and interpolations (which in no way affect the literary character) we are unable to determine in most cases whether a text dates from the twentieth or the seventh century B. C." (Weber, *op. cit,* p., 2). Weber regards this anonymity and woodenness of Babylonian literature as a serious defect. This tendency to old and stereotyped methods in Babylonian writing may be the reason why in the Amarna Letters, the cuneiform rather than the Phœnician script was employed (assuming, of course, that the latter was then in existence). Weber continues:

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[4] Condensed from the author's article on "The Code of Hammurabi and the Mosaic Book of the Covenant" in *The Reformed Church Review,* Jan. and Apr., 1905.

"Das ist nur verstaendlich wenn man bedenkt, dass der offiziellen Sprache der Nimbus der Heiligkeit anhaftete, dass ausschliesslich die Priesterkaste der Schrift kundig war, dass die konservierende Macht der priesterlichen Tradition auch der Fortpflanzung der Schriftssprache diente" *(op. cit., p., 21).*

For Tell el Amarna Letters, see next section.

III.

CIVILIZATION AND LITERATURE IN CANAAN IN THE PRE-MOSAIC PERIOD.

The recent recovery of a remarkable body of Palestinian literature has necessitated a radical modification of traditional views regarding the civilization of Palestine at the date of the Exodus.

A. THE TELL EL AMARNA TABLETS.

In 1888 there were found near the modern village of Tell el Amarna on the right bank of the Nile some 320 clay tablets written in the Babylonian language and the cuneiform script. These records, which have been carefully edited and translated, have necessitated an almost entire reconstruction of the history of Palestine in the fifteenth century B. C. Since Palestine was at that time an Egyptian province, we should expect to find the Egyptian language employed as the medium of communication. The constant and exclusive use of the Babylonian in these letters (excepting some native words) implies that the old conquerors had so thoroughly impressed their language and culture on the people that even in writing to the Egyptian court the cuneiform was preferred.

This collection includes letters from the officials of many towns in Palestine, as Gaza, Byblos, Accho, Hazor, Ashkelon, Joppa, Lachish and Jerusalem.[5] The subject of the letters is generally the need of succor against an enemy. The names of the officials are generally Canaanite (Hebrew), a proof that both the Hebrew and the Babylonian language were understood by the writers. How are we to explain this employment of the Babylonian? "The only explanation of the actual phenomenon is that the Babylonians had once, and up to a comparatively recent period, occupied the whole of the habitable territory as far as the Mediterranean and the River of Egypt; that the period of their occupation was very long and scarcely intermittent; that their influence extended to the minutest details of business and social life; and that their language and literature formed a liberal education for all the cultivated classes in Western Asia" (McCurdy, *Hist. Proph. and Mon.*, I, 185).

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[5] About two-thirds of these found their way to the British Museum and the Royal Museum in Berlin; the rest are in the Museum at Balak in Egypt. The fact that letters in the Babylonian should be found in Egypt was a great surprise, which was increased when it was discovered that they were written about 1400 by rulers in Babylonia, Assyria, Syria and Palestine to Amenophis III and his successor Amenophis IV. The subjects of the letters between the Babylonian and Egyptian monarchs are treaties, business relations and marriage compacts. They furnish valuable historical data and throw an interesting side-light on the customs, trade and politics of that day.

These letters show that Palestine was at this time a land of high civilization. All the arts were well advanced, especially writing. "The most suggestive fact of all is the prevalence . . . . of one system of writing, and that not only for the Babylonian language, but for the native languages as well" (McCurdy, *op. cit.*). The view generally entertained is that the culture and religion of Canaan in 2500-1400 B. C. was Babylonian both in origin and development; but lately the theory has gained ground that there was an extensive native literature and culture. See further below on Amorites.

B. THE HISTORIC SITUATION IN PALESTINE IN 2500—1400, B. C.

1. *Early Egyptian Influence.*

The earliest sources of information regarding Palestine are the Egyptian monuments. "Both the Palermo Stone and the inscriptions of the Wadi Maghara in the peninsula of Sinai bear witness that already in the First Dynasty, beginning *ca.* 3400 B. C., the Egyptians, who were exploiting the copper mines in Sanai, came in contact with tribes of Beduin, while as early as the Third Dynasty (2980-2900) the Egyptians imported cedar wood from the Lebanons, and Sahure of the Ffth Dynasty brought back Phœnician captives, whose pictures, on a relief from his pyramid-temple at Abusir, are the oldest pictures of Semitic Syrians which have come down to us" (D. D. Luckenbill, *Bib. World,* XXXV, p., 26). Somewhat later Pepi I (2590-70) invaded Palestine and the inscription on the tomb of his general Uni declares that "His Majesty made war with the Amu (Asiatics) and the Harusha (beduin, sand-dwellers)" and destroyed their strongholds. It is clear that in this early period, Egypt was in touch with Midian, Sinai, Palestine and Syria.[6]

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[6] According to Mueller *(Asien u. Europa* 123), the term *Amu* is Egyptian, meaning "boomerang-thrower," and gradually came to denote Beduin, Arabians, Palestinians; it is associated with Harusha *(Sandbewohner)* sand-dwellers, applied to the nomads of Syria.

2. *Semites in Palestine.*

On the other hand according to the cuneiform inscriptions, the Semites exerted a powerful influence in Syria and Palestine already in 3000 B. C. One of the early kings of Babylon, Lugalzagisi, has left an inscription recording his claim to the territory from "the Lower Sea to the Upper Sea", that is from the Persian Gulf to the Mediterranean. Some years later Sargon I extended his power to Martu the land of the Amorites; his successors made a like claim. "With the fall of the second dynasty of Ur this supremacy came to an end. For 300 years Babylonia was wasted by foreign invasion and internal strife" (Paton, *Syria and Pal.*, 23). About the middle of the third millennium, a great migration of races started from Arabia and Babylonia and poured Westward.[7] That Canaan was affected by this Semitic or more correctly Amorite migration, is shown by early names, contract tablets and scattered inscriptions. "The name which is most appropriate for this migration is Amoritic" (Paton).

From this time on the Amorites played an important role in the West-Land. According to Sayce, "in early days, long before the age of Abraham, the Amorites must have been the predominant population in this part of Syria. . . . . From the time of Sargon, Amurru was the name under which Syria and more particularly Canaan, was known to the Babylonians" *(Patri. Pal.)*. Referring to early Palestinian civilization, Sayce says: "It was not to a strange and unexplored region that Abraham migrated. The laws, the manners, to which he had been accustomed, the writing and literature which he had learned in the schools of Ur, he found again in Canaan. The land of his adoption was full of Babylonian traders, soldiers and probably officials, and from time to time he must have heard around him the language of his birth-place" (*op. cit.* 169).

About 2000 B. C. the great Hammurabi became supreme ruler in the East and is supposed to have gained control over Canaan, claiming the title "King of Martu". Contrary to the view generally held, the monuments relating to the centuries immediately following do not indicate absolute Babylonian supremacy in Palestine and Syria, even though the Babylonian language and script were employed in the West. The distance was too great to admit of more than a nominal lordship. A considerable part of the Palestinian culture of this period is now known to have been a native product.[8] "The excavations conducted in Palestine do not show any Babylonian influence in the early period of Israelitish history, nor in the pre-Israelitish" (Clay, *Amurru,* 26). In the so-called Assyrian period, eighth century, it may be allowed that Assyria influenced Israel. Such is the view of Nowack (in his review of the discoveries at Tell el-Mutesselim); "It is a disturbing but irrefutable fact that down to the fifth stratum—*i. e.,* to the beginning of the eighth century—important Assyrian influences do not assert themselves. . . . . . It is most significant that in Megiddo not a single idol from the Assyrian-Babylonian Pantheon has been found" *(Theolog. Literaturz.,* 1908, 26). "Contrary to the views of most Semitists . . . . that the people of Palestine 2000 B. C. were in a state of barbarism, Prof. W. Mueller maintains that in the districts of arable land the people were agricultural, and had attained a fair degree of civilization" (Clay, *op. cit.,* 29). It is now generally admitted, even by some Panbabylonists that the Amurri, Canaanites and Phœnicians entered the West-Land at an early date and founded a high civilization.[9]

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[7] The names of some of the kings of the First Dynasty of Babylon, have as one of their component parts the terms *"abi"*, "my father", or *"Ammi"*, "my paternal uncle", words indicative of the Canaanite-Semitic group of languages (Hebrew, Phœnician, Moabite). According to Winckler, a number of letters of the First Dynasty of Babylon abound in Canaanite words and idioms, and reveal a linguistic, if not a race, connection between these remote regions.

3. Cassite, Canaanite and Mitannian Inroads.

Whatever the influence of Babylon on Palestine and Syria in early times, it ceased in the eighteenth century when the Cassites, Canaanites and Mitannians broke the power of Babylonia. "Babylon was cut off from her ancient trade with the West; and, with the loss of her commercial prosperity, sank to the position of a second-class power. Syria, Palestine and Mesopotamia, which she had dominated for two thousand years, passed out of her grasp, never to return again, except for a brief period a thousand years later under the rule of Nebuchadrezzar II" (Paton, *op. cit.*, p., 65). Meanwhile the West-land trade, hitherto by way of Harran, was diverted to Southern Arabia, where there flourished the influential Minæan kingdom about the middle of the second millennium B. C.

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[8] The fact that Babylonian was used in Palestine and among the Hittite peoples clearly does not allow sweeping inferences. Indeed so far from the script or language having been imposed from without, the people of Mitanni apparently borrowed the cuneiform script and adapted it to their language; while in the Amarna Tablets, the native tongue of Palestine and Syria has left a distinct impress upon the Babylonian. . . . . The archaeological evidence shows very clearly that Palestine was not absorbed by Babylonian culture, still less by that of Egypt" (Cooke, *Relig. An. Pal.,* 112).

[9] "The ability to master this complicated and difficult system of writing *(i. e.* the cuneiform), speaks volumes for the intelligence of the civilized peoples of Western Asia. Education of scribes must have been widely spread; for the learned knew how to write this cumbersome ideographic and phonetic script of the Babylonians" (Clay, p., 32).

Some centuries previously the Hyksos, a Semitic people, in their conquering march to Egypt, must have subdued Palestine, to which they returned after their expulsion from Egypt. About the same time there occurred the Canaanite and Phœnician Migration. The relation of these people to the Amorites is not exactly determined, but it is probable that "the Hyksos-Canaanites are to be regarded as one of the later waves of the Amorite invasion rather than as an independent migration, such as the Babylonian, the Aramæan, or the Arabian, all of which are distinguished by marked linguistic peculiarities. . . The common opinion that the Hyksos were barbarians rests upon no good evidence. On the contrary their kings patronized art and literature. . . . . Neither in Egypt nor in Palestine is there any sign of an overturning of civilization" (Paton, p., 70). "The expelled Hyksos joined forces with their kinsmen who had already occupied the cities of Palestine and of the Syrian coast; and, mingling with the older strata of population, formed the race that the Old Testament designates as Canaanites".

4. Egyptian Supremacy.

After a reign of some 200 years (1788-1580) the Hyksos were expelled from Egypt, and the native kings of the powerful eighteenth Dynasty followed up their victory by reducing Palestine and Syria to tributary provinces. For a period of some one hundred and fifty years, the Pharaohs (1553-1392) were supreme in Palestine. The point that concerns us here is that during this whole period, the Babylonian language and script and not the Egyptian was the medium of communication between the Pharaohs and the subject provinces. This strange fact can be accounted for only on the theory that the Babylonian language and culture (so-called) had become practically indigenous long prior to the Egyptian supremacy.

C. A NATIVE PALESTINIAN LITERATURE FROM EARLY TIMES.

The preceding survey shows successive Semitic migrations into the Westland, *i. e.* Palestine, the first as early as 3,000 B. C.; then again in the Sargonic and Hammurabi periods.

The Cassite invasion broke the power of Babylon in the West;[10] and the Egyptians were supreme in Palestine from the seventeenth to the fourteenth century. It would seem, therefore, that previous to the Cassite period, the Babylonian language had gained a firm foothold in Canaan and was employed at least in international correspondence, and probably in ordinary life until the close of the Amarna period. Nothing hinders our holding that the people of Palestine, or at least the higher classes, in 1900-1600 (when the power of Babylon in Palestine was practically nil) still retained a knowledge of the Babylonian language and script. This is confirmed by recent excavations in Palestine.[11] Sellin has shown that an original Canaanite culture and literature existed between 2500-1500 sharply distinguished from the Babylonian. He unearthed in Taanach a seal-cylinder of a Canaanite living in 2000 B. C. with the cuneiform legend: "Atanachili, son of Chabsi, servant of Nergal".[12] Sellin holds that the Babylonian language and script were perpetuated in Canaan by scribes, foreign and native, and in "writing-exercises in religious and legal documents". The constant needs of a civilized people like the Amorites, would necessitate a retention of the cuneiform script (the only international script of that day) centuries after the cessation of direct Babylonian influence in the West.[13]

It has been suggested that the cuneiform script was unknown in Palestine between, say, 1900 and 1500, and that it was mediated to the Canaanites just before the Amarna period by the Hittites who had themselves acquired it from the Mitannians.[14] It must be allowed that the proof of cuneiform writing in Palestine during the period in question is slender. It would, however, be passing strange, if the Canaanites, who have hitherto been regarded by the whole Graf-Wellhausen school, as the possessors and purveyors of the very quintessence of Canaanite-Israelite lore, had not extensively employed the cuneiform script in the pre-Amarna period. Unless, therefore, the Hittites and particularly the Mitannians adopted the cuneiform at a much earlier date than usually assumed, it is difficult to see how the Palestinians could have gotten the Babylonian language and script from that quarter.

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[10] Winckler: "Unter den Kassiten beginnt der Rueckgang der babylonischen Machtstellung" *(Keilins. A. T.* p., 21).

[11] See: Petrie: *Tell el Hesy;* Bliss, *A Mound of Many Cities;* Bliss and Dickie, *Excavations at Jerusalem;* Macalister, *Bible Side-Lights from the Mound of Gezer;* Bliss and Macalister, *Excavations in Palestine;* Sayce, *Archaeology of the Cuneiform Inscriptions;* Driver, *Modern Research as Illustrating the Bible;* Steuernagel, *Tell el-Mutesselim;* Vincent, *Canaan d' apres l' exploration recente;* Sellin, *Tell Ta'annek* and *Nachlese; Ertrag d. Ausgrabungen im Orient;* also vols. of *Palestine Exploration Fund* and *Mitt. u. Nachr. d. Deut. Palaes. Vereins.*

[12] A seal with a Babylonian inscription no longer decipherable was found in Tell el-Mutesellim; and Bliss discovered in Tell es Safi the fragments of a stele with cuneiform writing, as also seals and cylinders. Sellin writes: "Wenn wir nun also die Frage aufwerfen: welche Voelker haben in der kananitischen Periode d. i. etwa von 2500-1200 v. Chr. auf Palaestina kulturell eingewirkt, so ist darauf folgendes zu antworten: Es hat eine originell kananitische Kultur gegeben, erkennbar vor allem an den Erzeugnissen der Keramik, den schraffierten Scherben, den eigenartig gewölbten Handgriffen und den hineingeritzten, immer wiederkehrenden Dekorationen der Krüge. Von dieser Kultur hebt sich scharf die Babylonische ab." *(Ertrag etc.* p., 25).

[13] Nothing forbids our holding that Abraham had scribes in his service and probably possessed in cuneiform the substance of Gen. I-XI. He would also take care that the chief events of his life were recorded.

That the Canaanites stood high culturally from the twentieth century onward is admitted by scholars generally. So Driver: "We find a Canaanite civilization in Palestine *cir.* 2000 to 1200 B. C.: this is recognizable especially by the pottery. Side by side with this we have traces of the very different Babylonian civilization, which it is evident influenced Canaan deeply during many centuries before the Hebrew occupation. . . . For a century or two before the Israelite period the pottery found at both Gezer and Taanach testifies to the influence of the art and civilization of Phœnicia, Crete, the islands of the Aegean Sea, and Cyprus" *(Mod. Res.,* p., 86). Unless the proto-Phœnician alphabet was employed by the Amorite-Canaanite-Phœnician population as early as 2000 B. C. (as suggested by Hommel and confirmed by many data) we incline to the view that the cuneiform was employed continuously to a late date.

Amorite Literature.

Assuming that the cuneiform was current in Canaan from the earliest times, we can understand that the Amorites were in a position to cultivate literature. Even though Prof. Clay has not adduced any distinctively Amorite (as over against Babylonian) inscriptions, and though his line of argument is largely indirect, he has proved that many deities and usages, heretofore regarded as Babylonian, are of Western or Palestinian origin. "At the time of the First Dynasty of Babylon (2000 B. C.), the personal names show that the country was filled with foreigners, notably Western Semites . . . . and the names of the kings of the Isin Dynasty (third millennium B. C.) indicate West Semitic influence upon Babylonia". The fact that "in the earliest known inscriptions of the Sumerians and Babylonians the West Semitic Mar (or *Amar)* figures prominently", shows that "the sun-cult of the West was well established in the earliest known period of Babylonian history, and doubtless already had had a long history of development" (*op. cit.*, pp., 96, 101, 108).[15] A strong argument is advanced for the view that the Biblical accounts of the Creation, Sabbath, Antediluvians and Deluge, go back to very ancient Amorite or West-Semitic sources, some of which were afterward carried to Babylonia.

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[14] See D. D. Luckenbill on "Excavations in Palestine" in *Bib. World* XXXV, p., 101, who says: "In the opinion of the writer, the Mitannians borrowed the cuneiform writing from the Babylonians, and in turn gave it to their neighbors and successors, the Hittites, and from here it spread along with other Hittite influences into Syria and Palestine. . . . . Perhaps the most positive proof of the probability of this hypothesis lies in the fact that while the excavations in Palestine produced cuneiform tablets—at Tell el-Hesy, Gezer, and Taanach scuh were found—in no case were tablets found which date from *before the Amarna Period*". L. adds in a foot-note: "Even if it should be shown that cuneiform reached the Hittites as early as the Hammurabi period, or even earlier, it would not affect our argument that it was not until the Amarna period that cueniform was introduced into Palestine". L's argument in general against the Panbabylonists is valid and forcible, but his contention that the cuneiform was wholly unknown in Palestine before the Amarna period goes to the other extreme.

It is gradually coming to be recognized among Semitists that not only was Canaan far advanced in culture and literature in the third and the second millennium B. C., but that the West-land contributed its share to the literature and religion of the East. The indebtedness was not all on one side. Communication between the East and the West was with rare exceptions constant. Says Prof. G. A. Barton: "In the reign of Shamsuiluna, Hammurabi's successor, a man in Sippar leased a wagon for a year with the stipulation that it should not be driven to *Kittim, i. e.,* the Mediterranean West-land. . . . . During the latter part of this period there was a considerable movement eastward from the Syrian coast into Babylonia. The migrations were accordingly reciprocal. They were not all in one direction" *(Jour. Bib. Lit.,* XXVIII, 155).

Sayce, while not agreeing altogether with Clay, allows that he has shown that the Amorite element cannot be neglected in future researches into the early civilization of the East. "The Amorites lent a good deal to Semitic Babylonia, notably the name and worship of Hadad, the Amorite god, and the culture and literature of Babylonia passed to the Israelites through an Amorite medium" *(Expos. Times,* Oct., 1910).

Clay's position has received strong support from L. W. King in his authoritative "History of Sumer and Akkad".

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[15] Clay argues that other gods of the Babylonian pantheon were originally Western, as Uru, Nergal, Marduk, Ninib, Urash, Shamash, Addu or Adad, Nabu and a few others (— truly a formidable array —) and adduces cogent reasons for his conclusions, — reasons which cannot be ignored by the Panbabylonists.

"The immigration of Semitic nomads into Syria and Northern Babylonia may possibly have been caused by periods of aridity in Central Arabia. However this may be, it is certain that the early Semites reached the Euphrates by way of the Syrian coast and founded their first Babylonian settlements in Akkad. . . . In view of the absence of Semitic influence in Sumer during the earlier periods, it may be conjectured that the Semitic immigrants did not reach Babylonia from the South, but from the North-West, after traversing the Syrian coast-lands. The first great influx of Semitic nomad tribes left colonists behind them in that region, who afterwards as the Amurru, or Western Semites, pressed on in their turn into Babylonia and established the earliest independent dynasty in Babylonia" (pp., VIII, 55).[16]

Under all these circumstances it is clear that Canaan in the pre-Mosaic period, far from being a barbarous region, possessed the elements of culture and literature existing in the ancient Semitic world generally. The people spoke a language essentially Hebraic; and even if the Phœnician script was not as yet introduced, the cuneiform was employed not only in foreign correspondence and business transactions, but perhaps by the whole official class. The references to the Amorites, Canaanites, Phœnicians, Sidonians, etc., in the Egyptian and Babylonian monuments, as well as the uniform testimony of the Old Testament, leave no doubt that Canaan had its own writing and literature long before the Amarna Letters. That only a small part of this has been recovered need not surprise us, seeing that prior to 1888 the learned world was in total ignorance of any such extensive literature as that of the Amarna period.

The results already obtained from excavations encourage the hope that the mounds of Palestine contain valuable literary treasures awaiting the spade of the excavator.

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[16] King holds that there was a return movement: "It was by the coastal regions of Syria that the first Semitic immigrants from the South reached the Euphrates, and it was to Syria that the stream of Semitic influence, now impregnated with Sumerian culture, returned" (p., 47).

CHAPTER V.

EXTENT AND ANTIQUITY OF HEBREW LITERATURE.

We propose now to inquire whether the Hebrews were intellectually inferior to their neighbors and failed to cultivate letters until a late date, or whether in fact they acquired the art of writing and produced a high-grade literature at a date very much earlier than allowed by the Grafians. We confine ourselves here to the statements of the Old Testament itself, reserving for a later chapter the discussion of controverted points.

A. HEBREW LITERATURE IN THE DAVID-JOSIAH PERIOD.

It is not necessary to support at length the proposition that from the time of Solomon to Hezekiah, and thence to Josiah, Israel produced a large body of literature of the most varied character, prophetical, historical and poetical. Without citing here any books and records concerning whose exact date scholars are not agreed, there remain many records, narratives and prophecies written in this period.

1. The Writing Prophets.

We have, as perhaps the most important, the so-called early writing prophets of the eighth and seventh centuries, as Amos, Hosea, Joel, Isaiah, Micah, Nahum and Zephaniah; then somewhat later, Jeremiah, Daniel, Ezekiel, Obadiah, Habakkuk, etc. It is allowed on all sides that the earliest of these, Amos and Hosea, wrote in a style characterized by the very perfection of literary art and with a scope of information remarkable for that age. Prof. J. Robertson in accounting for this high culture pointed out that literary composition had been practised in the "schools of the Prophets" from the time of Samuel.[1] Accepting the Biblical accounts as correct, we must infer that the three centuries between Solomon and Hezekiah were characterized by intense literary activity. According to Prov. 25: 1, "the men of Hezekiah copied out" various "proverbs of Solomon". This must mean at least that they selected and transcribed from a large collection of Solomonic proverbs such as suited their purpose. Whether the source from which they copied was one book or many, is not clear, but the statement implies a literary class—a body of men who, we may suppose, cultivated literature as assiduously as the scribes and chroniclers of the Egyptian and Assyrian courts.

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[1] "If we admit the existence of these schools at all, we must give the inmates something to do connected with the religion and fortunes of the nation. . . . . . Given the power to write, and such incentives, there is no reason why many of the compositions crowded together into the so-called first literary age may not in whole or in part belong to an earlier period" (Robertson, *Early Religion Israel,* 94).

2. Historical Literature.

There was also produced in this period a large body of theocratic history, as the books of Samuel and Kings. From the statements contained in these and other books, it is evident that the authors of the extant historical books drew largely on written sources no longer extant, as "the History of Nathan the Prophet" and many others. "The historical value of the great prophetic record in the books of Samuel and Kings is due to the fact that it consists for the most part of verbatim quotations from earlier histories and biographies. . . . The growth of these books was gradual . . . . From their themes and literary character, as well as from their relation to the longer Judean narrative, it may be fairly inferred that the Saul and David histories were written not very long after, if not before, the division of the Hebrew empire at the death of Solomon" *(Israel's His. and Bio. Narratives,* pp., 10, 12, by C. F. Kent). It is clear that in the post-Solomonic period written history was produced on a large scale and in a script easily read.

Already in the reigns of David and Solomon, much was done in this direction. "With the reign of Solomon a new era in Hebrew history opened. . . . Literature, as well as art, was probably encouraged by him. In addition to the chancellor or recorder, two scribes were counted among the important officials of his court (I K. 4: 3). Their duty was probably primarily to conduct the royal correspondence, but for diplomatic reasons, if for no other, a record of the most important events of each reign would also be needed for reference" (Kent, *op. cit.,* p., 14). That some of the sources used were handed down from early times is the almost unanimous judgment of scholars. The prophets and priests as well as the professional scribes, would be interested in preserving and transcribing carefully the old records.

3. Poetical Literature.

Concerning the date of the poetical books, we encounter the two antagonistic theories entertained regarding the Pentateuch, the conservatives assigning the greater part of this literature to the traditional authors, the Grafians allowing them little or nothing. The later criticism denies that any considerable part of Job, Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes and the Song, comes down from the David-Solomon period. Nevertheless a very strong argument can be adduced for the other side. "A group of psalms was admitted by both Ewald and Hitzig to be Davidic (Pss. 3, 4, 7, 8, 11, 19 a). Ewald admitted in addition Pss. 2, 20, 21, 24, 29, 32, 110; and Hitzig 9, 10, 12, 13, 15, 16, 17, 19 b. The Davidic authorship of these psalms is, however, denied by the latest critics. They have not discovered anything in them which Ewald and Hitzig did not see, but the evidence of literary activity which these psalms afford, the spirituality which pervades them, their reference to the law, and their recognition of but one place for Jehovah's worship are features which are incompatible with the Graf-Wellhausen theory. On ultimate analysis, this incompatibility is the sole difficulty with these psalms. To save the theory, the Davidic authorship is denied" (Dr. J. D. Davis, *Bib. World, VII,* p., 502).

Dr. C. A. Briggs denies that the ascription of 74 psalms to David has any critical value, but he finds thirteen psalms (3, 7, 18, 34, 51, 52, 54, 56, 57, 59, 60, 63, 142) which have in their titles references to incidents in the life of David. "It is probable that these 13 psalms constituted a little collection of Davidic psalms" *(Book of Psalms*, I, LXIII). None of these in its present form is by David, though "Ps. 18 in its original form was probably Davidic, and probably 7, 60". We are not concerned here so much with the exact number of Davidic psalms as with the evidence of literary activity in the reign of the great monarch. Dr. Briggs' admission that such a magnificent composition as Ps. 18 ("after removing the glosses there is nothing in the way to his authorship", "the ode stands out in simple grandeur as fittingly appropriate to the historical experiences of David," p., 140, *op. cit.*), in its original form proceeds from David, implies that the old warrior may have written others.

B. HEBREW LITERATURE IN THE PRE-DAVIDIC PERIOD.

That writing and literature were extensively cultivated in the times of David and Solomon is a well-established fact, conceded even by the extremists of the Wellhausen school. Scribes, amanuenses, recorders, secretaries and chroniclers were indispensable functionaries at the court. Under David, Jehoshaphat was at the head of the recorders or chroniclers, and Seraiah was chief of the scribes or secretaries (2 S. 8: 16, 17). Under Solomon, Elihoreph and Ahijah were the head scribes or secretaries, and Jehoshaphat the chief recorder (1 K. 4: 3, 4). The word translated "recorder" *(mazkir)* denoted an attache of the court whose duty was to record important events for future reference. This was a universal custom throughout the East and probably in vogue among the Hebrews from early times. In Exodus we read: "Jehovah said unto Moses, write this for a memorial in a book".[2] The remembrancer of David's time was "a state officer of high rank, who seems not only to have kept a record of events, but to have acted as the king's adviser" (Kirkpatrick, *2 Sam.,* p., 110).

The data and references in Samuel and Kings render it clear that writing was well known and in extensive use in the time of David. This implies a long preparatory stage of practice of the art in Israel. The contents of the early Old Testament books, rightly construed, and the witness of outside authorities, bear out the contention that literature, written literature, and not merely oral literature, (a contradiction *in adjecto),* flourished from time immemorial among the Hebrews.

Various books and writings are specifically mentioned. David's Lament over Saul and Jonathan, 2 S. 1: 18, is said to have been recorded in the already existing "Book of Jashar". The latter contained other pieces, such as the poem from which the quotation regarding the standing-still of the Sun and Moon in the time of Joshua, Judges 10: 11-13, was taken. "The Book of the Wars of Jehovah", mentioned in Num. 21, must have been very ancient. Jotham's Parable of the trees anointing a king, Jud. 9: 1-21, stands in a very ancient stratum, according to Driver and most critics. In Jud. 8: 14, we have an account of a young man of Succoth taken as prisoner, who wrote down for Gideon the names of 77 princes and elders.

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[2] As this stands in the *E Code,* the charge cannot be brought that the passage is late.

The fact that a youth taken at random could write implies a general knowledge of the art among the people.

Deborah's Triumphal Ode, Jud. 5: 1-31, is almost universally admitted, even by the most radical critics, to have been composed about the time of the events celebrated, *i. e. cir.* 1200-1150. We can go back even further. The age of Joshua is represented as one of considerable literary activity. According to Josh. 8: 32, "he wrote there upon the stones a copy of the law of Moses, which he wrote in the presence of the children of Israel".[8] It is clear that the author of the book of Joshua understood that Joshua wrote or caused to be written a copy of the law. So too the written description (Josh. 18 and 19) of the unoccupied territory implies a general knowledge of writing.

Writing in the Mosaic Age.

That writing is assumed as well known among the Hebrews in the time of the Exodus is evident from many passages in the Hexateuch and the early books of the Old Testament. See Ex. 17: 14; 24: 4, 7; 34: 1; Num. 5: 23; 17: 3 (Heb. 17: 18); 33: 2; Deut. 6: 9; 11: 20; 31: 9, etc. In Ex. 17: 14 we read: "And Jehovah said unto Moses, write this for a memorial in a book". This stands in J, a document assigned by the critics to about 850 B. C. The narrator must have obtained his information either from oral tradition, or from some extant work, perhaps the "Book of the Wars of Jehovah". In any event he must be assumed to have relied on trustworthy authority, reaching back to the Exodus. Again, Ex. 24: 4: "Moses wrote all the words of Jehovah", stands in J, a very ancient document. Here also the narrator must have had unequivocal proof that Moses wrote or caused to be written the Decalog and the Book of the Covenant. Num. 5: 13: "And the priest shall write these curses in a book"; 17: 1: "Write thou every man's name upon his rod". Deut. 6: 9: "And thou shalt write them upon the door-posts of thy house"; 31: 9: "And Moses wrote this law, and delivered it unto the priests".

We adduce these passages with the admission that their cogency depends upon the date of the codes in which they occur (the great critical question), but they furnish *prima facie* evidence that the authors of these codes without exception ascribe writing to Moses and his contemporaries. The assumed unknown writers may have been mistaken, but in that case it is difficult to account for the uniform tradition in all the codes that writing was well known in the Mosaic age. Even if it be allowed that J, E, P, and D "nod" occasionally, it is hard to believe that they all "nod" at the same time and place.

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[8] This stands in the early JE Code.

C. THE PROBLEM OF THE DATE OF ORIGIN AND INTRODUCTION OF THE PHOENICIAN ALPHABET.

According to the traditional view the Pentateuch was written in the Mosaic period, and the books of Joshua and Judges not far from 1300 to 1100 B. C., that is they are affirmed to have been committed to writing some centuries before the earliest remains of writing in the Phœnician characters. According to the Grafians, the Phœnician alphabet did not reach the Hebrews until 1000 B. C., and so of course they had no literature before that time. If now it were certain that the Phœnician alphabet (whenever invented) was generally introduced about the Amarna period (1400 B. C.), a strong argument could be constructed for the view that the above, as well as the later, Hebrew Scriptures were transmitted from the first in the Phœnician characters. Or, if we had even a dozen lines of any part of the Old Testament in the cuneiform script, it might be inferred that the early parts of the O. T. were composed in those characters. But in the absence of definite information either way, we are compelled to resort to a critical, historical and palæographical inquiry as to the actual mode in which the early Hebrew Scriptures were transmitted. Such an inquiry is fundamental if we would get at the real kernel of Pentateuch criticism.

The claim is constantly made by a certain class of writers that Moses as a matter of course wrote the Pentateuch; by others that he wrote none of it. The parties to the controversy rarely touch on the preliminary question as to the script that would be employed. The first of these seldom mention the fact that if Moses wrote the Pentateuch he must have employed either the Egyptian hieratic, or the Babylonian cuneiform, or the Phœnician script, though as a matter of fact we have not a scrap of direct evidence that he used either of these. Hundreds of pages are consumed in showing the learning of Moses and the historicity and Egypticity of the Pentateuch, but scarcely a page is devoted to the all-important question whether Moses could write at all in any of these scripts, even if the Phœnician were current in his age. On the other hand the deniers of the

Mosaic origin of the Pentateuch affirm that Moses could not have written the Pentateuch for the obvious reason that both the Egyptian and Babylonian scripts were too cumbersome and unwieldy for this purpose, and that the Phœnician alphabet was not yet invented, or at least was not yet employed for literary purposes by the Hebrews.

The controversy hinges, therefore, largely, not on an *a priori* and critical analysis of the Hexateuch, nor yet on the assumed historical situation implied in the codes (the line of argument pursued alike by the common conservative and radical criticism), but on the prior question of the script employed by the Hebrews in the Mosaic age, and specifically the date of their adoption of the Phœnician alphabet. The situation, accordingly demands a thorough inquiry into the date of origin of the Phœnician, or more correctly, Semitic, alphabet with the view of determining whether already at the date of the Exodus, Moses and his scribes may have employed this script.[4]

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[4] To the lay reader it may seem unnecessary to devote so much space to this phase of the subject, but it will be seen that thoroughness demands it.

CHAPTER VI.

THEORIES OF THE ORIGIN OF THE PHOENICIAN ALPHABET.

IMPORTANCE OF THE SUBJECT.

The results reached thus far warrant the inference that writing was sufficiently far advanced in Canaan in 1500 B. C. to be employed for literary purposes. The Tell el Amarna tablets show that at this time the Babylonian script was well known at least to scribes in all the provinces at the Eastern end of the Mediterranean. The evidence from the Old Testament, as admitted by critics of all shades, shows further that the Hebrews were well acquainted with writing in the times of Samuel, David and Solomon. How far back of this period, writing was employed in Israel for literary purposes is a disputed question; but if, as shown above, the Song of Deborah, was committed to writing from the first, we have at the approximate date of 1150 B. C. a poem of considerable length composed in a script with which the writer gives every indication of being quite familiar.

In what script was this early Hebrew literature composed? Was it the Egyptian, the Babylonian, or the Phœnician? We shall endeavor to show that it was the latter, and that the script was invented and introduced at a period considerably earlier than is generally assumed. It may be well to remark that in undertaking to determine the origin of the Phœnician alphabet we enter a field in which the literature is immense, forming a large library, but the generally accepted results very meager. In fact we admit at the outset that no one knows when, where, or by whom that alphabet was devised and introduced. The problem has, however, been simplified and reduced to narrower limits in recent years through the discovery and decipherment of some very ancient inscriptions. These have enabled epigraphists to carry the date of the origin of the script in question back considerably further than critics conceded twenty years ago. We shall ask the indulgence of the reader while we examine somewhat minutely this evidence, which, though dry and technical, furnishes the most direct and cogent proof that, after all, the Pentateuch and the early Old Testament books may have been committed to writing at the time assigned in the generally accepted chronology. The discussion of this phase of the subject may seem unnecessary, but the gain in the end will be immense.

The logic of the Wellhausen school runs thus: 1. There can be no literature in the real sense without writing. 2. The Hebrews had no knowledge of the Phœnician script or of writing for literary purposes until long after the date of the Exodus. 3. Ergo, they could not have reduced any part of the Pentateuch to writing before about 950 B. C. In investigating the date of the origin and spread of the Phœnician alphabet, we come, therefore, to the very core of the whole Pentateuch controversy. Obviously if it cannot be shown that Moses wrote in either the Egyptian, cuneiform or Phœnician script, or, if the Phœnician alphabet was not invented until 1,000 B. C., or if invented, was unknown to the Hebrews before that date, all argumentation whether or not Moses wrote the Pentateuch or any part of it is worse than useless. If on the other hand it should appear that the Phœnician script was invented about the fifteenth century and if further there is strong proof that the Hebrews became acquainted therewith not long afterward, we have historical, linguistic and epigraphic evidence that the Pentateuch or at least the underlying material may have been written down at a very early period. The question of the date of the introduction of the Phœnician script is thus fundamental to the whole issue of the composition and transmission of the early Old Testament scriptures.

Since the Greek, Latin, English and other alphabets are derived from the Phœnician, the question of its origin has not merely Biblical, but also general interest. The subject possesses a certain fascination from the fact that we have no scrap of reliable information from any quarter and are consequently compelled to theorize. We review the chief theories in the following excursus.

EXCURSUS: HISTORICAL RESUME.

1. The Phoenician Origin.

(1). Dissemination by the Phoenicians. The classical writers in general relate that the Greeks derived their alphabet from the Phœnicians and accordingly inferred that they were the inventors. Herodotus says: "These Phœnicians who came with Cadmus brought in among the Hellenes many arts when they settled in the land of Bœotia,

and especially letters, which did not exist, as appears, to me, among the Hellenes before this time . . . The Ionians, having received letters by instruction of the Phœnicians, changed their form slightly and in doing so they declared them to be called Phœnician, as was just, seeing that the Phœnicians had introduced them into Hellas" (V, 58). Lucan says: *"Phoenices primi, famae si credetur, aussi mansuram rudibus vocem signare figuris"* (Phar. 3: 290).

All the Greek writers from Homer to Hecatæus ascribe to the Phœnicians a marked influence on Greek art and letters. The islands of the Aegean are represented as visited and perhaps colonized by the Phœnicians, even before the movement of the Greeks to Asia Minor. The Greek language itself has a number of Phœnician loan-words for articles of trade, weights, writing-material and utensils. The Phœnicians were doubtless the chief agents in the dissemination of the script passing under their name.

(2). Did the Phoenicians Invent the Alphabet? We must distinguish between the dissemination of the alphabet by the Phœnicians and its invention. It is possible that the Phœnicians, having a knowledge of the common scripts of that day, selected the elements most suitable for the purpose and combined them into a practical system on the basis of some such principle as that of acrophony, which clearly underlies the Phœnician alphabet. A tradition recorded by Eusebius is to the effect, that "the Phœnicians did not claim to be themselves the inventors of the art of writing, but admitted that it was obtained by them from Egypt". Being of Semitic stock they must be supposed to have used previously the cuneiform, and through commercial relations to have had a knowledge of the Egyptian hieratic.

2. Egyptian Origin.

Already in the ancient world the view was widespread that the alphabet is of Egyptian origin. Plato, Diodorus Siculus, Plutarch and Tacitus mention the tradition. In modern times Olshausen advanced the same theory, which has been held also by other recent philologists and has undergone various modifications. The common view is that the Egyptian script never became really alphabetic; but Breasted and other recent Egyptologists hold that it contained alphabetic elements from the first and thus easily lent itself to the formation of a true alphabet. Indeed Breasted is so certain that the Phœnicians were indebted to the Egyptians for their alphabet that he declines to argue the case, but assumes it as established beyond a peradventure. He assigns the origin to the period of Merneptah and Rammeses III, *circa* 1225.

If we inquire into the possible process by which the Egyptian characters formed the basis of the Phœnician, we encounter two chief theories, namely that the Phœnician alphabet was derived from the Egyptian hieratic, or from the hieroglyphic. The former view was propounded at great length by the French scholar Emanuel de Rougé *(Mémoire sur l'origine Egyptienne de l'alphabet Phénicien* Paris, 1874), and is unreservedly reproduced by Isaac Taylor in his *"Hist. of the Alphabet"* 1898. The latter view is represented by another French Semitist, J. Halévy.

(1). Egyptian Hieratic. The correctness of the results reached by de Rougé depends largely on the correctness of his premises. If

these be allowed, the rest of the argument follows almost necessarily. Taylor says: "The secret of M. de Rougé's success in solving the problem which had baffled so many predecessors must be attributed to his clear perception of the fact, itself antecedently probable, that the immediate prototypes of the Semitic letters must be sought, not, as had hitherto been vainly attempted, among the hieroglyphic pictures of the Egyptian monuments, but among the cursive characters which the Egyptians had developed out of their hieroglyphics, and which were employed for literature and secular purposes, the hieroglyphic writing being reserved for monumental and sacred uses" *(Alphabet,* I., 90).

De Rougé had recourse to an old form of the hieratic script, originating under the early empire, and used during the Semitic conquest of lower Egypt known as the Hyksos invasion. He places the origination of the Semitic alphabet in the period of four or five centuries of Semitic rule in Egypt.

The form of hieratic writing chosen by de Rougé for comparison is represented in the celebrated Prisse Papyrus, now in the National Library, Paris, and supposed to date from the eleventh dynasty, *ca.* 2100 B. C. This is brought into comparison with a comparatively late form of the Phœnician script. When de Rougé first put forward his hypothesis in 1859, neither the Moabite Stone nor other early Semitic inscriptions had yet been discovered; and so he compared the hieratic with the Eshmunazer inscription of the fifth century B. C., which, though representing the same general type of writing, it at least four centuries later than the Moabite Stone and accordingly so much further removed from the early hieratic. Here is an interval of at least sixteen centuries. Allowance ought to be made for changes naturally taking place during this period. Again, the hieratic characters are cursive, freely traced by a pencil, while the Semitic are cut in stone with a chisel. These and other objections suggest themselves at once. Since the discovery of early Phœnician inscriptions, it has been found that the characters resemble more nearly the Egyptian hieratic than those selected by de Rougé. Hence his theory has received unexpected support from this quarter. It is the fashion now to speak slightingly of de Rougé's theory, but a careful camparison of all the forms of script accessible to us may necessitate a more favorable judgment.

It is known that of the four hundred picture-signs, some forty-five had approached a syllabic character. In order to avoid the charge of selecting letters to suit his purpose, de Rougé confined himself to the so-called "Egyptian Alphabet" which according to Plutarch consisted of twenty-five letters. It is from these twenty-five symbols that he attempts to derive the twenty-two Semitic letters. De Rougé's hypothesis is substantially that some Semite selected and employed 21 of the most suitable hieratic characters as the prototypes of the alphabet known as the Phœnician. His theory has been accepted by a number of experts, as Lenormant, Maspero, Ebers, Euting. It has been opposed by no small body of Orientalists, as Lagarde, R. S. Poole, Fried. Delitzsch and nearly the whole Wellhausen school who unite in placing the origin of the alphabet much later, *ca.* 1200.

Lagarde urges that the letters *teth, tsadhe, quoph,* and *ayin,* which denote sounds peculiar to the Semitic languages, could not have been represented by hieratic characters and must have been invented by the Semites or derived from some other source. He further points out that the names of the Phœnician letters do not refer to the Egyptian prototypes. Thus why is the second letter called *beth* (house) if it was derived from the picture of a crane? To this it may be replied that such a renaming is not uncommon in similar borrowings in other languages. Lagarde's chief objection, however, is that as a matter of fact there is no adequate resemblance between the Phœnician letters and the hieratic prototypes. This objection, if sustained, is fatal to de Rougé's hypothesis, as Taylor admits. A comparison of the letters of the Prisse Papyrus with those on the Moabite Stone reveals upon first glance nothing more than a general resemblance in the case of certain letters, as *beth, ghimel, daleth, waw, kaph, mem, resh* and *quoph.* Upon closer inspection it is possible to see some degree of resemblance in the general form and slant of the letters. If to this be added the development taking place during the ten centuries between the Prisse letters and the Moabite, the hypothesis does not appear as fanciful as sometimes represented.

(2). Egyptian Hieroglyphic. The celebrated French Semitist, Joseph Halèvy, sees the nearest resemblance to the Phœnician script in the Egyptian hieroglyphics and finds at least 13 letters traceable to the Egyptian. (See his *Mélangés d'épigraphie et d'archéologie sémitiques.* Paris, 1874). But the fact that he is compelled to resort to some forced comparisons in order to establish the desired similarities, greatly weakens his own theory. He, however, writes: "So far as my arguments are concerned, I consider them stronger than ever, and not one of the points wherein Taylor seeks to weaken them is tenable. In spite of the careful selection made from the characters of the Prisse Papyrus, not the least resemblance exists between them and the Hebrew letters numbered, 1, 2, 3, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 14, 15, 17, 22. The ayin has no equivalent at all, and among the other *nine,* only four, namely 4, 12, 17, 21 have a greater similarity in the hieratic than in the Phœnician; two, namely, 10 and 19 in the Phœnician than in the hieratic, and one, waw, has a different inclination in the two systems. There remain therefore only two characters, 18 and 20, which in any way resemble each other."

Halèvy admits that only 12 or 13 characters are derived directly from the hieroglyphs; but by reason of added strokes and lines the other letters can be obtained. As may be seen (in our Plate col. 1, 2, 3) by placing the letters of the Phœnician alphabet and the selected hieroglyphs side by side, the similarity is very slight; and what Lagarde says of de Rougé applies equally to Halèvy: "If we omit what does not suit and supply what is needed, it can easily be shown that the picture of an ox looks like that of an eagle and the picture of a house like that of a crane".

3. Hittite Origin.

In recent times the view has been advanced that the Semitic script is a modification of the Hittite. Since the Hittite inscriptions contain forms resembling the oldest type of Hebrew Letters, it is possible that a system of writing different from the Egyptian and the cuneiform may have been in use at an early period and become the basis of the Phœnician alphabet. Unfortunately the Hittite inscriptions have been discovered only within recent years and though European and American scholars have been engaged in deciphering them, only a few characters have been ascertained with certainty. The key to the language has not yet been found.

The first of these inscriptions known to scholars were four stones found at Hamath to the North of Palestine in 1872; since that time others have been discovered at Aintab, Kadesh, Marash, Zinjirli, Carchemish, and Boghaz Köi. The writing is alternatively from left to right and right to left, as in early Greek inscriptions. The letters are in relief and have apparently no connection with any known script. From the fact that the Hittites are often mentioned in the Old Testament and that the discovery of the nature of their writing and civilization may throw light on Old Testament problems, the investigation of their script is a fascinating theme and has engaged the attention of various scholars.[1]

Of the inscriptions at Boghaz Köi Prof. B. B. Charles writes: "Many are written in Babylonian, that *lingua franca* which penetrated to all parts where Babylonian influence was felt. These naturally can be read without much difficulty, and in them is revealed a second Amarna correspondence, letters to and from all the great powers of the day, one having the peculiar interest of being a cuneiform duplicate of the famous treaty between the Hittites and Egyptians. The majority, however, are in cuneiform Hittite, and form, together with those of the same character found in various parts of Cappadocia, and the tablets in this tongue found in the Amarna collection, a fair-sized library" (N. Y. Independent, Oct. 21, 1909).

Ward says: "We can hardly doubt that the Hittite script had its origin in an imitation of the Egyptian hieroglyphics. In the time of Rameses II they engraved on an oblong silver plate, in their own language, the text of their treaty with Egypt; and probably their system of hieroglyphics was invented some time in the two or three centuries before that, but after they first came in contact with Egypt" (*Rec. Res.* 184). Ward supposes that some Hittite merchant or soldier acquired a knowledge of the Egyptian hieroglyphics and constructed a similar system for his people. The Hittite characters are, however, unlike the Egyptian, there being no lions or wild beasts, but herds of oxen, goats and hares. Ward admits "that thus far only a few characters are plausibly identified, and no sentence can be read, not even a proper name".

Prof. Charles recognizes three general periods in the development of the Hittite inscriptions, the first going back to 1500 B. C., or earlier. With the increased resources at command, specialists will doubtless ere long decipher the language: meanwhile in our ignorance of the real nature of the script it is hazardous to affirm that it formed even a starting-point for the Semitic alphabet.

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[1] It is not known to what family of languages the Hittite belongs, and much that has been written rests on pure conjecture. The chief authorities are Sayce, *The Hittites*, 1888; W. Wright, *The Empire of the Hittites*, 1884; E. Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums;* Conder, *The Hittites*, 1898; W. H. Ward (in Hilprecht's Recent Research in Bible Lands).

4. The Cuneiform.

Some scholars have undertaken to show that the Semitic alphabet is traceable to the Babylonian-Assyrian cuneiform, in its earlier or later form.

(1). The Neo-Assyrian. W. Decke traces the alphabet back to the New Assyrian. The validity of his argumentation depends on the existence of forms assumed as intermediate between the Assyrian and the old Phœnician, but not now extant. But as Stade pointed out, it would be more natural to start with the old Babylonian. The hypothesis finds little support among scholars.

(2). The Old Babylonian. This view is set forth by Hommel in his *Gesch. Bab. u. Assy.* and in the article "Babylonia" in Hast. *Dic. Bible.* It is substantially as follows. The Semites who developed the alphabet were a nomadic people, as seen from the names of the letters. It is evident that the seafaring and commercial Phœnicians would not have selected the terms *ox, camel, door,* etc. Of the civilized nations with whom the oldest nomadic Semites came into contact, the ancient Babylonians are most prominent from a phonetic view-point. They had a system of phonograms, whose general appearance resembled the Semitic alphabet far more than did the Egyptian hieroglyphics. Further, the Babylonian-Assyrian language knows only one *ch* sound and only one *ayin.* We may suppose the development to have been somewhat as follows. The Semitic Beduins of the Syrian desert, the ancestors of the Hebrews, Aramæans, and Arabs, saw and admired as early as 2000 B. C. in their expeditions to the Euphrates, the old Babylonian inscriptions. That one could in this way perpetuate events and exploits seemed to them something wonderful and worthy of imitation (Benzinger regards this as the acme of improbability). With the few phrases which they had in common with the Babylonians, they learned the names of a series of ideograms, as *alpu, bitu, gimillu, daltu,* and so on, out of which they then, starting with the syllabaries, arranged and simplified the characters of their alphabet. Thus they obtained *aleph, beth, daleth* and at least eight letters, in which the similarity is marked. It is not improbable that in a few instances the Babylonian syllabic signs were adopted, as in the letters *mem* and *he* and perhaps others; finally, after most of the letters had been devised a few others were added.

The chief objection to this view may be summarized in the language of Nowack. (a). The Bab.-Ass. cuneiform is in a transition stage from the ideographic to the syllabic script; and the Persian was the first to introduce the syllabic element. (b). Accordingly the neighbors of the Babylonians and Assyrians, as the Hamathæans, had probably a kind of picture-writing, but no real alphabet, whereas all the Semites bordering on Egypt came to have alphabetic writing. (c). The old Persian script, which undoubtedly is a development of the Babylonian-Ass. writing, has an origin entirely different from what must have been the course of development in the Semitic alphabet.

But Hommel says: "It is becoming ever more probable that even the so-called Canaanitish or Phœnician form of writing, to which the S. Arabian is most closely allied, was derived not from the Egyptians but from the Babylonians, as early as 2000 B. C. It is a transformation into cursive of a number of old Babylonian signs, and may have originated in E. Arabia about the time of the first N. Babylonian dynasty, which was of Arabian descent" (Hast. Dic. I, p., 223). Hommel's later view is presented in his *Grundr. d. Geogr. u. Gesch. d. Alt. Orients,* which we discuss in Chapter IX.

5. *Aramaic Origin.*

Some scholars incline to the view that the origin is traceable to the Aramæans. De Lagarde was a prominent advocate of this hypothesis. It derives support from the fact that of the 22 letters at least 11 are rough pictures of the names, which are in general Semitic. Many things favor the claim that the Aramæans were the first to introduce the letters subsequently known as Phœnician; this claim being allowed, it would be a short step to the thesis that they were also the inventors. It must be remembered that the Aramaic was the language of common intercourse between the East and the West, between Mesopotamia and Canaan, for a period of nearly two thousand years, or from Laban to Christ.

In the covenant between Laban and Jacob, Gen. 31: 47, the "heap of witness" is called *Galeed* in the Hebrew of Jacob, but *jeger-sahadutha* in the old Aramaic of Laban. The passage testifies that Laban spoke the Aramaic and that Jacob, who in his twenty-years' sojourn in Mesopotamia doubtless acquired the Aramaic, preferred to use here his mother-tongue. The incident, besides throwing light on the polyglottal character of that age, shows that both Hebrew and Aramaic were spoken in the 18th century B. C. (we assume the essential correctness of the narrative).

It would appear that the Semitic or Phœnician script came into general use upon the withdrawal of Babylonian influence in Palestine after the 15th century. McCurdy adduces strong arguments for the Aramaic origin: "It is probable that it was devised in the centre of the Western Semites, and not among the people of the Mediterranean border-land, whose business dealings were mainly with non-Semites. Hence not Phœnicia, but Mesopotamia, the centre of the land traffic, should be looked upon as the region of its origin. The great emporium, Charran, a home of learned priests, and one of the greatest resorts of travellers and merchants in western Asia, may possibly have been the city where it was elaborated" (*Hist. Proph. & Mon.,* iii, 25). The chief arguments of McCurdy are: (1). The language and writing of the Aramæans took the place of the Babylonian in the active business life of the whole region west of the lower Euphrates and Tigris; it was the language of business and diplomacy much earlier than the time of Hezekiah (2 K. 18: 26). (2). Historically, the common alphabet changed far more among the Aramæans, than among the Phœnicians. The Hebrew or "square" characters were derived from it. The same change doubtless went on at an earlier period. (3). In the eighth and seventh centuries, the Aramæan language and writing were frequently used in Assyria and Babylonia along with the native cuneiform. The characters are practically identical with contemporary Phœnician. On the supposition that alphabet-making began with the Phœnicians and spread eastward, it is not easy to understand why the Aramæan type diverged so little from the Phœnician.

(4). The Aramæans did most to spread the knowledge of the alphabet throughout Western Asia. From the eighth century onward, their inscriptions are found from N. Syria to West-Central Arabia, and from Egypt to the banks of the Tigris.

"In fine", says McCurdy, "the historic rôle of the Aramæans, played during the formative era of the alphabet, their function as intermediaries and negotiators, and their geographical distribution, seem to have predestined them to devise a more fitting medium of expression and communication than that employed by their Babylonian and Hittite predecessors" (*Op. cit.*, III, 27).

6. Cretan Origin.

In addition to other ancient civilizations, recent exploration has brought to light primitive centers of culture in the Greek islands and archipelagoes. "There existed human society in the Hellenic area, organized and productive, to a period so remote that its origins were more distant from the age of Pericles than that age is from our own. We have probably to deal with a total period of civilization in the Aegean not much shorter than in the Nile Valley" (Hogarth, *Authority & Archaeology)*. Various scholars, notably A. J. Evans, have unearthed a very ancient civilization in the islands of the Mediterranean. In his "Cretan Pictographs" (1895) Mr. Evans has established the fact of an indigenous culture and of an extensive intercourse between Crete and Greece, Egypt and Canaan, centuries before the Phœnicians entered on their famous maritime expeditions.

Evans came across some interesting specimens of ancient writing. The hieroglyphic characters engraved on the 21 stones depicted by him in the above work number 82, and include pictorial and ideographic forms of the following proportion of objects: marine objects, 3; geometrical figures, 4; the human body, 6; vegetable forms, 8; parts of houses, 8; arms and implements, 17; animals and birds, 17; uncertain symbols, 12. Evans presents a chart from which it appears probable that of the 32 linear signs 16 approach to the Egyptian and 16 to the Hittite forms, but all have more or less an independent character. "Some Cretan types present a surprising analogy to the Asianic; on the other hand many of the most recent of the Hittite symbols are conspicuous by their absence. The parallelism can best be explained by supposing that both systems had grown up in a more or less conterminous area out of still more primitive pictographic elements" *(Jour. Hel. Stu.)*.

The above discoveries have been supplemented by others in Egypt. "Among the antiquities which make the Fayum so renowned a district are the remains of two cities; Kahun, which dates from 2500 B. C. and Gurob, which is some 12 centuries later, both sites yielding evidence of Asian and Aegean settlers" (Clodd, *Story of the Alphabet)*. While digging there some years ago Prof. Flinders Petrie discovered fragments of Aegean pottery inscribed with characters resembling and in some cases identical with those found by Evans. The relics unearthed at Kahun are, says Petrie, as old as the city and "it will require a very certain proof of the supposed Arabian source of the Phœnician alphabet before we can venture to deny that we have here the origin of the Mediterranean alphabets" (*Ten Years Digging in Egypt*, 134).

Contemporary with the Cretan there were other ancient Mediterranean scripts. In Cyprus there existed a linear script similar to Asian systems like the Karian and Iberian, which it is supposed had been developed among people with whom the Phœnicians were in contact at a time prior as far as we at present know, to the development of the Phœnician script. Evans guardedly suggests that the Cretan linear script was the parent of the Phœnician alphabet, admitting, however, that the development of the Cretan signary was "aided by a knowledge of the existence of the highly developed Egyptian system". In his view, "the linear Cretan system indicates a much more advanced method of writing than the hieroglyphic; and the Egyptian parallels are here less in evidence". It is the linear script which resembles the Phœnician alphabet, or rather "the theoretic pictorial originals of the Phœnician forms". Prætorius likewise holds that the Phœnician script-makers were indebted to the Cretan.

A solution of the whole problem hinges on the character and antiquity of the Semitic inscriptions, which we now proceed to consider.

CHAPTER VII.

EARLY SEMITIC INSCRIPTIONS.

I.

NORTH SEMITIC INSCRIPTIONS.

A. SEMITIC INSCRIPTIONS AND THE OLD TESTAMENT.

1. *Importance of Epigraphy and Palaeography.*

Two comparatively new sciences, which will have an important bearing on Old Testament study and investigation, have sprung up in recent years. In epigraphy, the science of inscriptions, the ancient writings on stone are examined with the view of determining their age, character and historical value; palæography, the science of ancient writing, deals more especially with the question of the age, trustworthiness and general character of an ancient writing other than on stone or metal. We are concerned here more particularly with the former.[1]

2. *Number of Semitic Inscriptions.*

It is only within comparatively recent times that the need has arisen for a scientific examination of the ancient inscriptions. The number of recovered Phœnician, Aramaic, Hebrew, Arabic, Hittite and Greek inscriptions has increased so prodigiously in the last half century that only a thorough classification can render them available as trustworthy witnesses. Fortunately the most valuable of the Semitic inscriptions have been deciphered and classified by scholars after years of patient study and comparison, and have been published in huge folios at the expense either of learned societies or of benevolently disposed men of large means. As these volumes are found in the large libraries, it becomes possible to study the inscriptions in facsimiles almost as well as at first hand.

Ancient writing on any material possesses a high value in ascertaining the age of the script, or the literature generally; but writing on stone or metal or any durable substance possesses obvious advantages over any other. The exact forms of the letters remain as originally written thousands of years ago and may be studied in their chronological sequence. The evidence of an inscription, assuming that its age is established, is the evidence of a contemporaneous witness and cannot be impeached on the ground of being a late transcript, as in the case of a copied papyrus or parchment roll. By means of inscriptions, whose date can be determined, sometimes definitely, sometimes approximately, and by comparison of inscriptions from the same or adjacent, or even widely separated countries, we can determine the date of other inscriptions and thus discover the marks of age borne by the script. It must be remembered that in ancient times and until the age of printing, the peculiarities, merits and defects, the national and local characteristics of writing, were far more marked than today.

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[1] The phrase 'Semitic Inscriptions' in the broad sense includes Babylonian, Assyrian and other writings in a Semitic language whatever the script, but in this work the expression is restricted to inscriptions in the so-called Phœnician script as over against the cuneiform.

3. *Semitic Inscriptions in General.*

The Semitic inscriptions are now available for the study of the rise and antiquity of the alphabet. Unfortunately no extant inscription represents the original script by a number of centuries, the oldest dating from about 1,000 B. C. How long before that date the script was invented is not known.[2] The problem, therefore, is to determine what light these texts found in widely separated regions and written in various Semitic dialects, throw on the age and country of the original Phœnician, or more properly, Semitic alphabet. On the basis of the extant inscriptions, we may classify the types as follows: 1. The Phœnician in the narrow sense. 2. The Aramaic. 3. The Hebrew. 4. The South Semitic. Since our purpose is to trace the course of development with the view of determining the approximate date of the origin of the Semitic alphabet and of its adoption by the Hebrews, we confine ourselves to inscriptions covering the period between 1,000 and 400 B. C.[3]

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[2] The history of the Semitic alphabet is largely a history of the external change of the letters. The general form of the letters in late North Semitic writings is similar to that in the oldest monuments. The Moabite Stone, whose age is definitely determined from the mention of certain names and events, is the standard of comparison with other inscriptions.

[3] A brief account of these inscriptions is found in the Encyclopedias and Large Bible Dictionaries. More detailed information is given in special works and journals on Semitic epigraphy, as Taylor's *Alphabet,* and G. A. Cooke's *Text-Book of North-Semitic Inscriptions.*

The classic work, indispensable here, is the *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum* (designated by CIS), Pt. I, Phœnician and Punic Inscriptions; Pt. II, Aramaic Inscriptions, etc. The standard German authority is Mark Lidzbarski: *Handbuch der Nordsemitischen Epigraphik,* etc., I Text, II Tafeln. Also his *Ephemeris fuer Semitische Epigraphik.* Vid. also Euting's *Schrifttafel* in Zimmern's *Vergleichende Grammatik der Semitischen Sprachen.*

B. THE PHOENICIAN INSCRIPTIONS.

We classify as Phœnician (in the narrow sense) the inscriptions which linguistically and palæographically may be conveniently so designated, even though some of them are strictly Moabite, Sidonian or Tyrian. The inscriptions regarded as typical and of special epigraphical value are given in the following account. Of those entering into consideration here, one was found in Moab, one in Southern Palestine, three in Sidon, two in Tyre, another in Cyprus, one in Sardinia, two in Egypt, and several in Assyria. The use of the alphabet in these widely separated regions shows that in the course of centuries, this special type of the Semitic alphabet had been introduced into every land whither Phœnician colonists had penetrated. Since the Phœnicians were the merchants and common carriers on the Eastern shores of the Mediterranean from the earliest period of which history gives an account, we need not be surprised that the oldest remains of the Semitic alphabet are in the Phœnician dialect and script.

1. *The Moabite Stone.*

The history of the discovery of this inscription has been narrated so often that a brief notice here will suffice.[4] The stone contains an account by Mesha, King of Moab, of the subjection of his country to Israel and of his part in regaining the disputed territory. It is a graphic narrative yielding much valuable historical, linguistic and archæological material. The language is that of Moab, a dialect akin to Phœnician and Hebrew.[5] The inscription serves as a general type of the West-Semitic group of the tenth century B. C. The character of the letters is seen in our Chart (col. XII). The approximate date, ascertained by a comparison of the statements of Mesha with the Biblical records, especially 2 K. 1 : 1; 3 : 4-12, is 890 B. C. The inscription is of the highest value as a point of departure for determining the date of the origin of the Semitic alphabet. "The considerable length of the inscription supplies examples of all but one of the letters of the ancient alphabet, while the repeated occurrence of most of the letters renders it easy to eliminate mere variant or accidental forms, and thus to determine the normal alphabet of this early period" (Taylor, *Alphabet,* II, 206).

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[4] In the summer of 1868 a German Missionary, F. Klein, in the course of a journey to the East of the Jordan, came to the site of Dibon (Is. 15: 2), the ancient capital of Moab. The Arabs of his suite pointed out near his encampment a block of black basalt, 41 inches high and 21 wide, with an inscription of 34 lines. Prof. Petermann, of Berlin, who happened to be in Jerusalem, at once took measures to secure the stone for the German Royal Museum. At the same time Ch. Clermont-Ganneau, a Semitic scholar, and attache of the French consulate in Jerusalem sought to gain possession of the treasure. As a result of this competition, the Arabs steadily increased the amount demanded and finally, unable to exact an exorbitant price, broke the stone into some forty fragments. Fortunately, about two-thirds of these were subsequently recovered and pieced together. The collected parts and a somewhat imperfect squeeze taken by Clermont-Ganneau before the stone was broken up, are now exhibited in one of the rooms of the Louvre, Paris. Despite the mutilation, the script is fairly legible.

[5] The language of Moab is far more closely akin to Hebrew than any other Semitic language at present known (though it may be conjectured that the languages spoken by Ammon and Edom were approximately similar): in fact, it scarcely differs from it otherwise than dialectically (Driver, *Samuel*, p., XCII).

Two seals, whose nationality is determined by the use of the word Kemosh, are the only other archaic Moabite inscriptions extant.[6]

2. *The Baal Lebanon Inscription.*

One of the most interesting of all inscriptions is the so-called *Baal Lebanon,* found at Limassol, Cyprus, but supposed by some to belong originally to a temple of Baal not far from Sidon.[7] The inscription, or rather inscriptions (for there are eight fragments of thin bronze) formed parts of bowls or paternæ, used for ceremonial purposes. Six of these fragments pieced together form (a) of the translation below; the remaining pieces (b) and (c) owing to slight differences in some letters, as aleph and lamed, may have belonged to another bowl.[8] On palæographical grounds the writing must be pronounced as old as the Moabite Stone, and perhaps older. This conclusion follows from a critical examination of the letters. See Chart col. XI. The aleph, beth, daleth, jod, mem, nun, samekh, ayin and shin are practically the same in the Moabite and the Lebanon, while the heth, teth, lamed and resh of this inscription are more distinctly lapidarian and archaic than in the Moabite. Only zayin and taw are peculiar. The downward stroke of zayin is perpendicular in the Baal Lebanon; it inclines somewhat to the left in the Moabite. The taw of the former has the form of the Latin cross † with a long perpendicular stroke, and not that of the St. Andrews, X, as in the Moabite Stone. It is worthy of note that the letters Z and T in the archaic Greek alphabet have the form found on these fragments. On these grounds the inscription is supposed to date from *circa* 1,000 B. C. Euting and Lidzbarski, high European authorities, are inclined to ascribe a greater antiquity to it than to the Moabite Stone.[9]

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[6] The script of one of these (described by Sachau in *Aramaeische Inschriften)* is almost identical with that of the Moabite Stone and cannot be of much later date. The other seal is several centuries later. "The Phœnician inscriptions may be classified chronologically with the Moabite; geographically with the Hebrew" (Lidzbarski, HB, p., 116).

[7] It is preserved in the *Cabinet des Antiques, Bibliotheque Nationale,* Paris. The view that the bowl was originally dedicated to a temple in Phœnicia, and afterward taken to Cyprus, is regarded by Lidzbarski as improbable. According to Cooke, "the dedication to Baal of Lebanon seems at first sight to point to Phœnicia, or Syria as the original home. But the Phœnician colony in Cyprus may well have carried with them the cult of their deity from the mother-land; or if the *skn,* Governor, came from Phœnicia, he may have wished to remember the god of his native place, just as the Tyrian colonists at Malta made their dedications to Melkarth, the Baal of Tyre" *(N. S. Inscrip.,* p., 53).

[8] Cooke's rendering is: "(a) . . . governor of Qarth-hadasht, servant of Hiram, king of the Sidonians, gave this to Baal of Lebanon, his lord, of choicest bronze. (b) . . . . T B, governor of Qarth-hadasht. (c). To Baal of Lebanon, his lord" (*op. cit.,* p., 52).

3. *Hassan-Bey-li.*

The inscription of Hassan-Bey-li, found to the West of Zinjirli, contains all the letters except gimel, zayin, heth, teth, samekh and koph. The script is more cursive than that of the Moabite Stone, but bears every trace of being one of the oldest of the Phœnician inscriptions. Lidzbarski says: "Even if the meaning of 'King of Asshur', line 4, and of 'Kingdom of Asshur', line 6, is doubtful, the script nevertheless indicates that the inscription is not much later than the Aramaic inscriptions of Zinjirli. It belongs therefore to the 7-8 century B. C. and is one of the oldest of the Phœnician inscriptions" (HB, p., 118). Chart, XIII.

4. *The Nora Inscriptions.*

Some of the inscriptions of Nora (Pula) in S. Sardinia are of great age, the script resembling that of the Moabite Stone. Whether they are chronologically of the same period is a disputed matter, turning partly on the question when the Phœnicians effected settlements in the Western Mediterranean, and in Sardinia. Under any view it is remarkable that Phœnician inscriptions of essentially the same character as the Moabite script (though probably somewhat later) should be found so far westward. This is a further proof that the Phœnician alphabet was carried to the West at a much earlier date than generally supposed. Chart, XIV.

5. *Abu Simbel.*

Early Phœnician inscriptions have been found also in Egypt. One of the oldest was inscribed on the temple at Abu Simbel, and owes its origin, as the accompanying Greek inscriptions indicate, to mercenaries of Psammeticus I or II. It accordingly dates from about the seventh century B. C. The script is more developed than in the Hassan-Bey-li and Nora types; but less than in the Sidonian. See Chart, col. XV, (also Cis., I, 111, 112, and Lidz. *Ephem.* II, 5).

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[9] Cooke adopts the opposite view: "Internal evidence favors a later date than that of the Zinjirli inscriptions, the middle of the eighth century B. C.; and the character of the writing agrees with this" (*op. cit.*, p., 53).

6. *The Assyrian Lion Weights.*

We now turn to some Phœnician inscriptions discovered as far East as Assyria. Some fifteen lion weights, bearing bilingual inscriptions in cuneiform and in Phœnician characters, were unearthed by Layard at Nineveh. The names of four Assyrian kings, ruling between 745 and 681, fix the date of the several inscriptions. "Apart from their palæographic value, these records are of great interest, as showing that the Phœnician alphabet must have been in common use at Nineveh for commercial purposes, side by side with the cuneiform as early as the middle of the eighth century B. C." (Taylor, *Alphab.* I, 218). The Phœnician legend on the eleventh lion-weight, which reads *maneh melek,* "a maneh of the King", and is supposed to refer to Shalmaneser (737-722), is in a script less archaic than the inscriptions thus far considered but evidently older than those of Eshmunazar and Sidon considered below.[10].

7. *Abydos.*

Under this head may be classed a number of short inscriptions from the walls of the Temple of Osiris at Abydos in Egypt. They are assigned by Lidzbarski to the 5—4th century B. C. (Ephem. II). Chart, XVI.

8. *Byblus.*

The so-called Byblus inscription records the dedication of a bronze altar and a golden shrine by Yehaumelek, king of Gebal, the modern Byblus. It is assigned to the 5—4th century B. C., the script being in a transitional stage from the Nora to the Eshmunazar type. The fifteen lines contain the whole alphabet except teth. Chart, XVI.

9. *Tabnith and Eshmunazar.*

Two other comparatively early Phœnician inscriptions may be examined together. The one is that of Tabnith, king of Sidon, in which the letters have the characteristic Phœnician forms. The other is the long funereal inscription of Eshmunazar of Sidon.

(1). *Tabnith.* "The inscription was found at Zidon in 1887, engraved on the base of a sarcophagus of black basalt, of Egyptian workmanship and bearing in front an hieroglyphic inscription, designed no doubt originally for use in Egypt, but diverted from its original purpose and taken to Phœnicia in order to receive the remains of a Phœnician prince. The contents of the hieroglyphic inscription bear no relation to those of the Phœnician one" (Driver, *Samuel,*). Lidzbarski assigns this and the following inscription to the fourth century, B. C.[11] See Chart, col. XVII.

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[10] A unique interest attaches to a scarab inscribed in Phœnician letters and discovered in the foundation of the palace at Khorsabad built by Sargon, 722-705, the conqueror of Samaria. It contains simply the two words *'Ebhed Baal'*, "servant of Baal" in a clear Phœnician script and is assigned by Levy to the eighth century B. C., and conjectured by Taylor to have belonged to one of the captives of the Northern Kingdom of Israel.

[11] Driver remarks that the Tabnith inscription "may serve as an example of the style, as regards characters and general appearance, in which the autographs of the Old Testament must have been written" (*op. cit.*, p., XXVI). This may be true of the later O. T. Scriptures, but certainly the earliest writings, as the assumed codes J and E, and the Pentateuch generally, as well as Joshua and Judges, must have been composed in a far more archaic script.

(2). Eshmunazar. One of the most valuable of ancient inscriptions is the magnificent sarcophagus of Eshmunazar, king of Zidon, "now one of the glories of the Louvre". With the exception of a small spot injured by the spade of the excavator, it is so well preserved that every letters is clearly distinguishable. The material and style indicate that it was brought from Egypt. The references to Dora, Joppa and Sharon, as parts of the kingdom of Eshmunazar, point to a time subsequent to 587, the fall of the Jewish monarchy. Since Eshmunazar states that he reigned at Zidon, the inscription must be older than 330, when Alexander subdued Phœnicia. It must accordingly be placed somewhere toward the close of the fourth century. Chart, XVII.

10. *Deductions.*

From the preceding it will be seen (by aid of the Chart) that the Phœnician script (in the narrow sense) represents a type with marked characteristics. The Baal-Lebanon, Nora, Tabnith and Eshmunazar inscriptions are distinctively of this family. Of the later remains, the Hassan-Bey-li approaches very near to the archaic type. The only letter exhibiting a variation is the taw, in which the two strokes incline as in the archetype, but the one to the left is considerably longer. Archaic forms of letters are also found on seals (see Levy, 1-4, 7). For the remainder of the old Phœnician forms, we must go to the extreme West, Sardinia, Carthage and Malta. In the Nora inscriptions (CIS, I, 144, 145) there is scarcely a letter which deviates much from the Moabite form; even taw has yet the old shape. Only beth in 145 has lost the lower projecting ends; the tail of Samekh in the last line of 145 approaches the later form.

That the script underwent gradual change is seen in the case of *mem* and *shin*, each of which is a test of the age of a text. Thus by reference to the Chart it will be noticed that *mem* has a zigzag form, which, while tending to drop one arm, always retains the tail. By the time of the Abu Simbel inscription this arm has disappeared entirely. Likewise in the case of *shin*, one of the slanting lines gradually coalesces with the preceding until in the course of three centuries it assumes a form approaching the square shin.[12] Another gradual change takes place in the slant of the letters. Just as in English (written from left to right) a slanting letter, as b, f, l, leans to the right, so in the Phœnician and Hebrew (right to left) the tendency is in the opposite direction. The daleth, he, heth and jod of the old script came to incline to the left. The letters leaning originally to the right, as kaph, lamed, mem, etc., either retained the same slant or tended to become perpendicular. As a result of the tendency to incline to the left, jod and zayin assumed more and more a slanting form until in the Middle Phœnician and Punic they are practically horizontal.

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[12] "These two letters one may regard as the shibboleth for the age of a Phœnician inscription; a text in which *mem* and *shin* have the zigzag form is to be placed in a period prior to the sixth century B. C., unless there are weighty opposite reasons" (Lidz. HB, p., 177).

No other radical changes occur in the Phœnician script. There is, however, a tendency in every period to write the letters in a more cursive form, so that the stylus may rest continuously on the writing-material. This is seen in samekh, in which the one perpendicular and the three horizontal lines gradually (*i. e.* during the lapse of seven centuries) assumed in the Punic one continuous, but curved line. This tendency issued in the cursive script found in all alphabets, but least in the Phœnician, for it died out too soon.[13]

The letters of the above inscriptions, doubtless the purest representatives of the Semitic alphabet, differ considerably from the Hebrew and Aramaic inscriptions, as will be seen presently. If now, beginning with the Moabite Stone and ending with the Eshmunazar inscription, we trace the rate of change during a period of nearly six centuries, we discover that the development was exceedingly slow. We merely remark here that this slow evolution of the Phœnician, Aramaic and Hebrew types of script, will constitute one of the lines of proof in support of the proposition that according to the facts and principles of alphabetology, the Semitic alphabet, *i. e.,* the Proto-Phœnician, must have originated many centuries earlier than held by the Wellhausen school and the Panbabylonists.

C. THE ARAMAIC INSCRIPTIONS.

With the decline of Phœnician commerce and supremacy, the Phœnician language also declined, and the Aramaic gradually took its place as an international medium of communication in Mesopotamia and the lands bordering on Aram (Syria). It was the Aramaic, and not the Phœnician alphabet which became the parent of the later Hebrew, Syriac and Arabic scripts. It accordingly becomes necessary to trace the development by which the Aramaic script entered the field and finally crowded out the more archaic forms represented in the Phœnician.[14] The view that the Aramæans were the inventors of the Semitic alphabet is disputed, but their activity in its spread and introduction is admitted by all scholars. That this alphabet was in general use among them at an early date is attested by the fact that we have Aramaic inscriptions of the ninth and eighth centuries from regions as widely separated as Assyria, and Asia Minor, and of the eighth and seventh centuries from Arabia and Egypt. Just as the greater part of the Phœnician inscriptions were found outside of Phœnicia and indeed beyond Semitic territory, so the majority of Aramaic inscriptions were discovered in Assyria, Asia Minor and other non-Aramaic lands. Only those of Zinjirli, Nerab, and a few other places were found in Aram proper.

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[13] The development finally yielded the script of the middle or Persian period, and furnishes a tolerably correct method of determining the age of an inscription. Thus the frequency and the length of the lower curve are generally in inverse proportion to the antiquity of a writing, though sometimes local and personal elements modify the rule.

[14] In 1500-1300 B. C. Assyrian was the language of diplomacy in Palestine, Egypt and Assyria; but Phœnician was the language of commerce along the shores of the Mediterranean until the eighth century and later.

We give a sketch of the chief inscriptions, beginning with the recent great discoveries in North Syria, which have added greatly to our knowledge of the early Aramaic script and of the languages and literature of North Syria in the early years of the first millennium B. C. Especially valuable are the Zakar inscription, 800 B. C., and the so-called Zinjirli inscriptions of the eighth and seventh centuries. They yield much new historical, linguistic, and archæological material, and on account of their antiquity and high state of preservation are prized especially by the scholar in search of inscriptional and palæographical data. Their discovery has done for Aramaic epigraphy what the Moabite Stone did for Phœnician, and the Siloam inscription for Hebrew epigraphy.

1. *The Zakar Inscription.*

In 1903 a French scholar, Henri Pognon, discovered somewhere in Northern Syria an old Aramaic inscription of unusual interest and value in this connection. The monument was erected by Zakar king of Hamath and Laash to his god El-Ur in recognition of the defeat of his enemies.[15] Expecting some day to be able to recover the missing parts and to publish the whole inscription, Pognon declines at present to divulge the exact locality of the find.[16]

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[15] See Pognon, *Inscriptions Sémitiques de la Syrie, de la Mesopotamie et de la region de Mossoul,* Paris, 1907. The stele consists of four fragments forming originally the lower part of a monolith with the figure of a man in relief. The upper fragment shows the feet and the lower end of a robe. The inscription begins on the front of the stele and continues on the left side. On the right side is a line supposed to be the end of an inscription. The writing on the front contains 17, that on the left side 29 lines, in a fair state of legibility. Pognon calculates that the upper part contained at least 30 lines more. The portion recovered is 106 *cm* high, from which it is inferred that the original stele had a height of 210 *cm.*

[16] Pognon writes: "Je ne peux pas songer à faire des fouilles en ce moment, mais je compte bien en faire un jour; j' ai, d' autre part, la conviction que, si

The inscription not being generally accessible, we give below a translation of the text as edited by Lidzbarski, with conjectural restoration of a few lacunæ.[17] Zakar and his kingdom were wholly unknown until revealed by this monolith, which accordingly has priceless value historically and palæographically. He appears to have been king of Hazrak, probably to be identified with the Hadrach of Zech. 9: 1, which is associated with Damascus "Zakar styles himself king of Hamath and Laash; the former is the important city in northern central Syria, the site of the other city being as yet uncertain. His chief enemy is Bar-hadad son of Hazael, king of Aram, that is of Damascus. . . . . The Old Testament makes Jehoash, king of Israel, the liberator of his nation from the yoke of Damascus (2 K. 13: 25). If we may accept as correct the Biblical statement that his son Jeroboam II, who died in 745, reigned 41 years (14: 23) this loss to the empire of Damascus must have taken place about 800. . . . . The approximate date of 800 may then be assigned to the inscription" (Prof. J. A. Montgomery, *Bib. World,* XXXIII, p., 82). Chart, col. XVIII.

Prof. S. R. Driver in a lengthy review reaches the conclusion: "The date of the inscription must be about 800 B. C.; it is consequently the oldest Aramaic inscription at present known and only about 50 years later than the inscription of Mesha on the Moabite Stone" *(Expositor,* V). Halèvy also assigns it to 800.[18] Nearly all German specialists assign it to the same period.

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je commettait l' immense maladresse de dire où j' ai découvert la stèle, de Zakir, il se trouverait certainement quelqu'un qui irait immédiatement faire des fouilles, découvrirait sans aucune difficulté les fragments qui manquent, et s'empresseraait de publier complète l' inscription qu' à mon grand regret je ne peux publier qu'en partie".

[17] Col. I. Line 1. The stele which Zakar king of Hamath and Laash erected to El-Ur in the place of these. 2. Zakar, king of Hamath and Laash, a man lowly was I. So elevated me 3. the Lord of Heaven and stood by me; and the Lord of Heaven placed me as king over Hazrik. 4. Bar-hadad, son of Hazael, king of Aram, united against me. . . . . 5. s . . . teen kings. These were Bar-hadad and his army, and BRGSH and his army. 6. the king of Kue and his army, and the king of Umk and his army, and the king of Gurg um 7. and his army, and the king of Samal and his army, and the king of Miliz and his army. . 8. . . . . seven kings 9. and their armies. All these kings laid siege against Hazrak, 10. And they built a wall higher than the wall of Hazrak and dug a trench deeper than its trench. . 11. Then I raised my hands to the Lord of Heaven and the Lord of Heaven heard me. Answered me 12 the Lord of Heaven through seers and astrologers; and said to me 13 the Lord of Heaven: Fear not, for I have appointed thee king and will stand by thee, 14 and will deliver thee from all these kings who 15 have brought siege against thee; said to me the Lord of Heaven I will destroy 16 all these kings who have laid siege against thee 17 and this wall which they have raised. . . . . . 18. . . . . . *(Ephem.* III, 3).

[18] "Une Inscription de la Syrie moyenne, qui par son âge et sa haute importance historique, se place immédiatement après la celèbre inscription de Mêsha" *(Rev. Sem.,* Avril, 1908).

This inscription, written in Aramaic with a strong admixture of Hebrew, throws new light on the Hebrew and Aramaic of that day. "When the need arose among the Aramæans to make written records, they turned to the people who hitherto had written only in Canaanitish. The first records were obviously composed in the language of the scribes, but the conquerors would soon prefer to use their native tongue. Naturally a new literary language could not be formed in a day; something too depended on the skill of the scribe. The oldest monuments from northern Syria exhibit such attempts. . . . In the recently published inscription, it is religious expressions which bear a Canaanitish, indeed actually a Hebraistic, character. Only here do we find the very characteristic *waw conversive*. Perhaps the composer was a priest at one of the Canaanite shrines before whose mind expressions from hymns or religiously colored narratives floated" (Lidz. *Ephem.* III, p., 3). Whether or not Lidzbarski's conclusions are in all respects correct, it is clear that the stele compels us to carry back the literary use of the Canaanite alphabet several centuries further than hitherto allowed by the Panbabylonists.

That which concerns us especially in this connection is the epigraphic value. All the letters of the Hebrew or Aramaic alphabet occur except teth; from the form of the letters we can gain a tolerably correct idea of the Aramaic script in 800. A comparison of the letters with the Moabite Stone on the one hand and the Hadad inscription on the other shows a general resemblance, with some marked peculiarities. Thus the frequently recurring aleph, he, waw, kaph, lamed, mem, tsadhe, shin and taw resemble the Hadad letters; but the gimel, daleth, zayin, samekh, and koph exhibit departures from the normal forms. Especially noteworthy is the short perpendicular line separating words, somewhat as in the Moabite Stone. Upon the whole, epigraphically viewed, the monolith furnishes undoubted proof that the so-called Phœnician alphabet was in full bloom in a remote district of Syria in the ninth century B. C. How long previously it was introduced is a matter of conjecture. Some considerable time, perhaps a century or two, must have elapsed before the new script could have found such general currency among the Aramæans. Both the language and the forms of the letters indicate that writing in this script had long been in use in Aram and, though our ignorance of the exact locality of the origin of the inscription invites caution, we may infer that a knowledge of the Phœnician script was widespread in the North of Syria, reaching even to a hitherto utterly unknown and forgotten kingdom.

All this is significant and shows that in this early period, more people could read and write than has heretofore been supposed. The practical question for the Old Testament student is whether with the almost universal knowledge of writing in the distant past, the Hebrews were the only people lacking the wit, ambition and opportunity to acquire and employ the art. As Lidzbarski intimates above, the Canaanite, *i. e.* the Phœnician language and script must have been widely current in the North of Syria in early times.

2. *The Hadad Inscription.*

Another Aramaic inscription of the same or perhaps a somewhat later date than the preceding receives its name from the god Hadad, to whom it was dedicated by Panammu I of Jaudi. It is the earliest and most important of the so-called Zinjirli inscriptions and is in a good state of preservation with the exception of three small erasures across a part of the stone. The letters are clear-cut, distinct and regularly formed, though being in relief they are reproduced with difficulty in our Chart, col. XIX. "The writing belongs to the archaic type represented by the Moabite Stone" (Cooke, *op. cit.*, p., 163). As shown by the archaic style of the letters and contemporary references, the colossal statue dates from about 775 B. C.[19]

3. *The Panammu Inscription.*

The second of the Zinjirli inscriptions, found in 1888, is preserved in the Berlin Museum. It dates from the time of Tiglath-Pileser II (745-27). It consists of 23 lines, fairly legible for the most part, but the last few lines are "so much injured that the exact sense cannot be recovered" (Cooke, *op. cit.*, 180).[20] Lidzbarski deplores that he was unable to procure a satisfactory reproduction; but by the aid of his plate we are enabled to trace the letters in their essential features, which confirm the evidence from other sources. Sayce, speaking of this and the preceding stele, says: "The strange and unexpected fact which they disclose is that the Aramaic language of Samala approached the Hebrew in many respects. While the Hebrew *ben*, son, is replaced by the Aramaic *bar*, the grammatical forms and particles are in several cases distinctively Hebrew. So also many of the words which are used in the text. Even more striking is the fact that the spelling of certain proper names is the same as it is in the present text of our Hebrew Bibles. As in the Old Testament, so in the inscriptions of Samala the name of Assyria is written with the vowel *u* in the second syllable. . . . . The fact gives us increased confidence in the historical accuracy of the Books of Kings, as it indicates that the information contained in them was faithfully copied from written documents; it also proves that a dialect more akin to Hebrew than to the later Aramaic was spoken in Northern Syria in the eighth century before our era" *(Higher Crit. & Mon.*, 196). See Chart, col. XX.

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[19] The inscription, consisting of 34 lines (the same as the Moabite) was found in 1890 near Zinjirli, a town in North Syria, and is now in the Berlin Museum. The first part runs thus: "I am Panammu, son of QRL, king of Jaudi, who have set up this statue to Hadad in my —— 2. There stood by me the god (?) Hadad and El and Reshef and Rekub-el and Shamash. And Hadad and El and Rekub-el and Shamash gave into my hand the sceptre of ——; and Reshuf stood by me: and whatsoever I take in hand . . . . . and whatsoever I ask of the gods they give me, etc."

Of this inscription and the next one Hommel says in a recent work: "Auch die beiden grossen bei Zendschirli an der syrisch-cilischischen Grenze, also am Aeussersten Nordwesten des semitischen Gebietes, muessen eher als altkanaanaeische Sprachdenkmaeler mit aramaeischer Beimischung bezeichnet werden—zugleich ein Beweis dafuer, wie zu Anfang des 1. vorchristlichen Jahrtausends nach Zurueckdraengung des hethitisch-alarodischen Volkselements in ganz Palaestina und Syrien kanaanaeische Sprache und Schrift geherrscht hat" *(Grundr. d. Geog. u. Gesch.*, 159).

[20] The first few lines read: "This statue Bar-rekub placed to his father Panammu, son of Bar-sur, king of Jaudi . . . year my father Panammu . . . 2. his father; the gods of Jaudi delivered him from his destruction. There was a conspiracy in his father's house, and the god Hadad rose . . . his seat . . . over . . . destruction etc."

4. *The Bar-Rekub Inscription.*

Another old inscription is that erected by Bar-Rekub to his father Panummu II of Samal. It dates from the eighth century,[21] as shown from contemporary historical data and the character of the letters, which are a later type of the archaic Semitic script. Chart, col. XXI. From these and similar types it is clear that a general change took place in the letters, some forms becoming simpler and more rounded, others more open and regular. "This inscription belongs, not to a statue [like the two preceding] but to a building — the new palace built by Bar-Rekub. On the left side of the inscription is a figure of the king in Assyrian style carved in relief, holding a lotus flower in his hand" (Cooke, *op. cit.*). Lidzbarski reproduces additional Zinjirli inscriptions of nearly the same date, or a little later, as shown by the forms of the letters and the general style of art.[22]

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[21] Found in 1891, now in the Imperial Museum, Constantinople. Consists of 20 lines, in an almost perfect state of preservation. We give a few lines; as rendered by Cooke: "I am Bar-Rekub, son of Panammu, king of Samal, servant of Tiglath-pileser lord of the four parts of the earth. For the righteousness of my father and for my own righteousness my lord Rekub-el and my lord Tiglath-pileser made me to sit upon the throne of my father. etc."

[22] The question has recently arisen whether the language of the Zinjirli inscriptions is really Aramaic. Halèvy maintains that the Hadad and Panammu inscriptions are not in the Aramaic, but in a Cannanitish dialect, perhaps the Hittite *(Nouvel Examen des inscriptions de Zinjirli. Rev. sém. VII).* His chief argument is the absence of distinctively Aramaic forms. Lidz. also expresses doubt, saying, "Noch vor dem Erscheinen dieser Arbeit . . . bin ich zu der Ueberzeugung gelangt dass Had. und Pan. in einer anderen Sprache abgefasst sind, als die kleineren Inschriften" (*Eph.* I, 57). Whether the language is in fact Hittite, Lidz. leaves to the "Chetitologen".

5. *Nerab.*

The two so-called Nerab inscriptions were discovered in 1891 at Nerab, a small town S. E. of Aleppo. They constitute a part of the treasures of the Louvre. "They accompany the bas-reliefs of two priests of the local sanctuary, finely executed in the Assyrian manner and singularly well preserved. . . The writing is not so archaic and rigid as that upon Zinjirli inscriptions, while it belongs to an earlier stage than that of the inscriptions from Teima." (Cooke, *op. cit.*). Lidzbarski assigns them to the seventh century.

6. *Lion Weight of Abydos.*

This inscription underneath a lion-weight found in 1860 at Abydos on the Hellespont belongs to the 6—5th century as indicated by the style of the letters. "At this period Asia Minor was subject to Persian rule, and the Persian satraps used Aramaic in intercourse with the subject races in the West of the Empire. This was a trade-weight officially certified to be of full standard" (Cooke).

7. *Lamas Inscription.*

This inscription, consisting of six lines, is carved upon a rock S. E. of Saraidan in the Valley of the Lamas in S. E. Cilicia. Both Lidzbarski and Cooke assign it to the 5—4th century. The letters are of a later style than the preceding. That Aramæans should have penetrated this remote and obscure district in this early period is another proof of the wide extent of Semitic and even Aramaic civilization.

If additional proof were required to show the extensive use of the Aramaic script in the 9—5th century, it could be adduced in numerous examples of writing on seals, weights and votive offerings.

8. *The Teima Stones.*

The first and longest of the Teima inscriptions was found in 1880.[23] It consisted of 23 lines, of which less than two-thirds are preserved; it is dated "in the 22nd year", but the name of the king has disappeared. It describes the revenues necessary to support a newly introduced cult. The letters are of a transitional type, some as zayin, jod and tsadhe exhibiting archaic forms, others, as teth, ayin and resh being late. Carved in relief the letters are somewhat difficult to reproduce on our chart, col. XXII. "The Teima Stone is generally believed to date from the fifth century before Christ, although some would place it early in the sixth century. . . . . . . The stone is of interest as an early example of Aramaic epigraphy" (Goodspeed, *op. cit.).*

The second Teima inscription is much shorter, but it exhibits the same general style. The characters belong to a period in the middle stage of Aramaic writing. They are almost all of the same size and written as it were between straight lines, like CIS, II, 72 from Chaldea.—"The Zayin and jod are archaic in form, Koph is almost Nabatæan, Ayin is shaped like a V, and aleph has the shape of +, mem is written with the two down strokes nearly equal in length" (Cooke, *op. cit.*).

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[23] While few Semitic inscriptions surpass the Teima Stone in interest and importance, it is one of the least known of the great inscriptions. Teima in North Arabia is generally identified with the Tema of Job 6: 19. The place must have been famous in antiquity, doubtless as a caravan center between Petra, Gerra and Sheba, for it is often mentioned by Old Testament writers; cf. Gen. 25: 15; 1 Chron. 1: 30; Isa. 21: 14; Jer. 25: 23 (E. G. Goodspeed, *Bib. World*, XXXIII, 424).

9. *Characteristics of Aramaic Script.*

As seen from a comparison of forms in the Chart, the script of the Zakar inscription is in general identical with that of the Moabite Stone. With some exceptions the same is true of the two oldest Znjirli inscriptions. Minor differences as compared with the Moabite occur: as daleth with the more upright form and approach to resh; waw, with a square head; teth with its more oblong shape; kaph, mem, nun, and taw, which incline more to the right, whereas samekh, tsadhe, resh, more to the left. By the time of the Teima stones, the alphabet has assumed still more characteristic forms. The zayin, as in the Phœnician, has approached very nearly the form of z; in samekh, both the perpendicular and cross-lines have become decidedly curved; and in koph the left circle has taken the form of a mere point. Strangely enough, the teth is round as in the Moabite, but in the Bar-Rekub has only a stroke in the middle. The exact interval between the Zakar stele and the monuments of Nerab is not known; but the changes in the script are peculiar rather than numerous. The heth, which has still three cross-marks in Zinjirli has usually only one in Nerab. In kaph the angle has become a wedge, and zayin has turned one-fourth around. On the other hand, waw has again the round head; and koph the whole circle. By the time of the Teima inscriptions the Aramaic script developed a marked character of its own. This transition from the archaic to the middle epoch is exhibited step by step in the Chart. Some of the characters have the same development as in the Phœnician alphabet.

It will be seen that the distinguishing feature of the Aramaic script is not difficult to determine. It consists in the tendency to an opening of the loops in the closed letters. This is quite marked in beth, daleth, samekh, ayin, koph and resh, compared with the Phœnician and the archaic Hebrew script. From the earliest of the inscriptions, the Zakar and Hadad to those of the middle period, Nerab and Bar-Rekub, to those of Teima, the closed loop tends to open and become first curved and finally almost horizontal lines. The letters originally having bars, as he, waw, heth, and taw gradually modify or even lose them altogether, until the distinctively archaic Aramaic type prepares the way by a further differentiation for the later square forms, adopted in the later Hebrew.

D. ARCHAIC HEBREW INSCRIPTIONS.

Hebrew inscriptions covering a period of a thousand years are scattered over every part of the East. But very ancient inscriptions are with few exceptions confined to the Mediterranean region. Archaic Hebrew inscriptions have thus far been found only in Palestine.[24] Unfortunately their number is small, and with the exception of the Siloam, Gezer, Jeroboam and Samaria inscriptions they possess inferior palæographical value. A few seals from the eighth, and some fragments of inscriptions from the seventh and sixth centuries, practically complete the list. The material at command is, however, sufficient to enable us to trace the development of the Hebrew script from the ninth century onward. From the position thus gained we may infer what its character was in the immediately preceding centuries.

1. *The Siloam Inscription.*

This most precious and famous of Hebrew inscriptions has value for us here chiefly on chronological and palæographical grounds. It shows that at an early period the Phœnician script was well known to common workmen and that it had been probably long employed for literary purposes among the Hebrews. It was discovered by accident in 1880 on the wall of the Pool of Siloam. Two passages in the Old Testament are regarded as referring to this pool and tunnel. Thus in 2 C. 32: 30: "This same Hezekiah also stopped the upper spring of the waters of Gihon and brought them straight down on the West side of the city of David"; and 2 K. 20: 20: "Now the rest of the acts of Hezekiah and all his might and how he made the pool and the conduit, and brought water into the city, are they not written in the book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Israel?"[25] It is generally held that the conduit and the inscription were executed in the reign of Hezekiah (726 B. C.). Others quoting from Is. 8:6, "the waters of Shiloah that flow gently", a prophecy dating from the reign of Ahaz, assign both tunnel and inscription to an earlier period about 750 B. C.[26]

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[24] The fewness of Hebrew inscriptions is variously explained. Until within a recent period no systematic effort was made to explore and excavate the hills of Palestine. Recently the English *Palestine Exploration Society* and the German *Palaestina Verein* have prosecuted the work vigorously, and have already brought to light a sufficient number of inscriptions to warrant the conclusion that others of great value still remain hidden. Then again, it is probable that the bulk of Hebrew literature of the classic period was written upon papyrus or membranes, which naturally perished centuries ago. Nevertheless "excavation in Palestine itself and in adjacent lands has revealed an amount of culture which could never have been imagined; continued research among Semites, whether in Arabia, Palestine, Syria or Mesopotamia has brought to light features of cult and custom identical with, analogous to or illustrative of ancient conditions and life. . . . . The comparatively small extent of excavation in Palestine has not yet succeeded in unearthing those native records with definite chronological data, which, it is hoped, will some day be forthcoming" (S. A. Cooke, *Pal. Ex. Fund*, 1907).

That which concerns us especially is the form of the letters and their relation to the Phœnician and Aramaic scripts. The resemblance to the characters on the Moabite Stone is quite close in gimel, kaph, lamed, koph and taw, all of which stand closer to the Moabite than to the Sidonian and Tyrian. The inscription presents the daleth with a continuous line underneath as in the Tyrian, though it differs considerably from both the Moabite and the Zinjirli in the case of waw, heth, mem and nun. In general the relation is closer to the Moabite than to the Hadad and the Middle Phœnician.

2. *The Gezer Calendar Tablet.*[27]

In 1908 Prof. R. A. S. Macalister, an English scholar, who for some years conducted excavations in Palestine, discovered at Gezer, some 20 miles to the West of Jerusalem, a small limestone tablet containing writing in archaic Hebrew characters and easily ranking as the oldest of extant Hebrew inscriptions. The name by which it is generally known is suggested by the frequent occurrence of the word *yerach* (month). Macalister describes it as follows: "It is the upper fragment of a tablet of limestone, four and one-half inches high, two and three-fourths inches across and five-eighth inches thick. The lower part is broken off by an oblique fracture and lost; the fracture passes through a square hole, apparently meant for a peg by which the stone was affixed to a wall. The reverse side of the tablet, except for one or two meaningless and perhaps accidental tool-marks, is plain, as is also the right hand edge. The left hand edge is covered with a fret of diagonal lines, five or six to the inch" *(Pal. Ex. Fund, 1909)*. The tablet contains seven lines and is fairly well preserved. See Chart, col. XXV. A few letters are in dispute, but the general meaning is clear. The text twice contains marks of separation of words in the first two lines, somewhat as in the Moabite Stone.[28] It is sometimes called the Gezer Stone, but as this phrase is liable to be confused with two Gezer cuneiform inscriptions, lately discovered, it is better to employ some such term as the above.[29]

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[25] The pool is at the extreme South of the Eastern hill of Jerusalem (on the North of which the Temple stood) at the entrance to the Tyropœan Valley; and a tunnel cut through the rock from the Virgin Spring (the one natural spring in Jerusalem) situated some distance above it on the East side of the same hill, leads down to it and supplies it with water. The tunnel is circuitous, measuring 1708 feet though the distance in a straight line is considerably less. The inscription was first observed by a pupil of architect Schick, who, while wading in the pool with a lighted candle, observed what appeared to be characters engraved on the rock. Ultimately in 1881 a gymsum cast was obtained by Dr. Guthe, who published a photograph with accompanying description in 1882, which has since been often reproduced. A portion of three lines in the inscription has been destroyed through the wearing away of the rock; but the general sense is quite clear" (Driver, *Samuel* XV). Following is a translation: "The boring through and this was the manner of the boring through: whilst yet . . . . the pick, each towards his fellow, and whilst yet there were three cubits to be bored through, there was heard the voice of each calling to his fellow, for there was a split in the rock on the right hand. . . . . And on the day of the boring through the miners struck, each to meet his fellow, pick upon pick; and the waters flowed from the source of the pool for two hundred and a thousand cubits; and a hundred cubits was the height of the rock above the head of the miners".

[26] "There can be little doubt that the work was carried on in the reign of Hezekiah. The character of the writing points to the same period. It belongs to the archaic type represented on the Moabite Stone; but in general form it is lighter and more flowing than the Moabite, and some letters, as aleph, daleth, heth, and tsadhe are considerably different. It will be noticed that the final vowels are represented by consonants; but within the word the vowel-letter is not written" (Cooke, *op. cit.)* See chart, col XXVI.

[27] The value of this lately discovered inscription as a proof of the early and common use of the Semitic script among the Hebrews justifies a full consideration here.

We are more directly interested in the date of the tablet. Hebrew archæologists and palæographers, as Lidzbarski, Halèvy, Gray, Macalister, H. Vincent, Ronzevalle have examined the stone minutely and agree (excepting Vincent) that it is older than the Siloam inscription. "The inscription probably belongs to the eighth century. . . . . The workmanship is rough, but the type of the letters is closely akin to the earliest inscriptions in the N. Semitic alphabet that we possess. Judging by the writing I should say that the inscription is later than the Moabite and earlier than the Siloam. The letters which weigh with me most in connecting the inscription somewhat closely in time with those of the ninth and eighth centuries are the *samekh* and the *daleth*. . . . . The samekh of the Gezer inscription is of the earliest type, with this peculiarity that the perpendicular stroke starts from above the top horizontal. The form of daleth points to the same conclusion" (Gray, *Pal. Ex. Fund,* Jan., 1909).

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[28] The text as translated from Lidzbarski's transliteration is:
(1). Month of the fruit-harvest—month of—
(2). the sowing.—Month of tne after-grass.
(3). Month of the flax-harvest.
(4). Month of the barley-harvest.
(5). Month of the harvest of all the rest.
(6). Month of the pruning of vine-plants.
(7). Month of the fig-harvest.

[29] Macalister and Lidz. regard it as a calendar, perhaps a kind of agricultural calendar, the latter, however, adding: "The tablet contains no systematic division of the whole year, but records the months of agricultural activity. The enumeration begins with harvest, omits the two winter months, resumes with the beginning of spring and counts up the months in unbroken order" *(Ephem.,* III, 38).

S. Ronzevalle, of Beirut, regards the inscription as next to the Moabite in age: "The inscription gains equally from the linguistic and palæographic point of view, since one may, without any improbability, ascribe it to some professional scribe, such as Gezer surely had in the ninth and eighth centuries B. C., the epoch to which the language and especially the writing point. The *gaucherie* of the inscription need make no difference; the hand which traced with a stylus these unruly characters would be less *maladroit* when it held a pen".

H. Vincent, a French archæologist, labors through 25 octavo pages to prove that the inscription is comparatively late, not much earlier than the Exile. His chief contention is that a comparison of this writing on soft limestone with the hard basalt of the Moabite or with the Siloam is inadmissible, and that the scribe of Gezer, unlike the royal scribes of Moab, engraved directly and not from a carefully prepared exemplar; hence the irregularity of the letters and the mingling of early and late forms. Vincent offers no proof that the Moabite letters had been, and those of Gezer had not been previously 'traced'; nor yet that the Gezer scribe cut the characters "directly and without a preliminary design". Even if such had been the procedure, Vincent has not accounted for the undoubtedly archaic and Moabite type of the letters. His article from first to last is a case of special pleading and characterized by bitter antagonism to Gray and Lidzbarski.[30]

It has not been the good fortune of the writer to have had access to the original tablet, but he has carefully scrutinized with a glass the excellent fac-simile of Lidzbarski (*Ephem.* III, Tafel VI). At least 17 of the 22 letters of the alphabet occur, some of them more than once, as zayin, lamed, mem and pe, twice, ayin and shin three times, tsadhe and koph four times, heth and jod eight times and resh thirteen times. This fortunate circumstance serves as a control of the letters. But a special difficulty arises from the conjecture that the stone is a palimpsest and that only a part of the original writing was erased before the calendar was inscribed.[31] Such is the view of Vincent and Lidzbarski, but Macalister dissents.

In addition to Gray's above description of some of the letters, we comment briefly on a few others. After *yerach*, lines 1, 2, and 6, and after *kzr*, line 5, occurs a character which is either *waw* or *nun*. It is generally, though not without doubt, regarded as the former. The heth has in general three forms as in the Chart. The jod also varies considerably, the arm in some cases differing in length and inclination. Tsadhe too is peculiar. In nearly every instance the shaft of the resh inclines somewhat more to the left than in the Moabite. Both the general type of the letters and the variants of the same letter may be seen by comparing lines 4 and 5, the first two words of which are the same; yet the letters vary somewhat. All this in our judgment shows that the scribe was quite familiar with the Semitic script, but nevertheless cut individual letters with about the same degree of similarity and difference as an unprofessional writer to-day would trace letters with a stylus on stone or any intractable material.

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[30] See *Revue Biblique. Sixieme Annee, Avril, 1909,* pp., 243-269. In the interest of fairness, we reproduce a part of V'.s argument: "L'archaism, on le voit, n'est donc pas aussi absolu qu'on l'a voulu. Il est reel; mais sans doute y avait-il un moyen beaucoup plus simple de le concevoir et de l'accorder avec les nuances modernes qui s'y mêlent, en tenant compte de la ture matérielle de la tablette et du procédé très vraisemblable de gravure directe. . . . . . Le scribe de Gézer pouvait déjà être beaucoup moins virtuose en calligraphie, que ses collègues des capitales judéenne et moabite. Quelle que soit toute fois l' elegance ou l'habitude de son écriture courrante, il écrivait ici au stylet, ou plutôt il gravait directement, et sans dessin préalable, les lettres dans le calcaire doux."

[31] Die Schrifflaeche zeigt allerhand Striche und Figuren, die nicht zum jetzigen Text gehoeren. Ich habe die Vermutung ausgesprochen, dass die weiche Kalksteintafel als Schreibtafel benutzt wurde, dass sie schon frueher ein oder mehrmals beschrieben war und die Striche Ueberreste der letzten schlect wegpolierten Schicht seien, d. h. dass die Tafel ein Palimpsest sei (Lidz., *op. cit.*).

A comparison of the letters with the Moabite, Zakar, Hadad, and Siloam inscriptions leads to the conclusion that the script is not quite as archaic as the Moabite, but much more so than the Siloam. We may therefore confidently assign it to about 825 and perhaps 850 B. C., certainly not later than 800. In either event, the tablet is of far-reaching significance in every way. It confirms the epigraphic evidence already presented and still to be presented that the Phœnician script (in the broad sense) originated centuries earlier than has generally been supposed; further, that the type of script current in Israel in the ninth century implies a long period of native development. It shows also that (contrary to the Pan-babylonists) the Phœnician script (rather than the cuneiform) was in extensive use in Israel for the most varied purposes of life and must have been introduced centuries previously; otherwise it is impossible to explain how a humble peasant could have been in possession of the art.

3. *The Jeroboam Seal.*

An ancient Hebrew inscription discovered by the German Palestine Union at Tell el Mutesellin in 1904 has confirmed in a remarkable way the proof of the use of the Semitic script in Israel during the early years of the monarchy. It is an engraved seal containing in the middle the figure of a lion with open jaws and the following legend on the upper and lower edges: "Belonging to Schema, the servant of Jeroboam". The engraving was probably executed by an Israelitish or Phœnician workman, similar lion-types being found on other Canaanite gems. Kautzsch, Stade, Cheyne and Lidzbarski have discussed the recovered treasure. It is unquestionably very ancient; but how ancient? Much depends on the answer.

An argument for the age has been constructed from the name Jeroboam, it being assumed that one or the other of the kings of that name is meant. Jeroboam I reigned in 937-915, and Jeroboam II in 781-741. Those who favor the view that the seal is of the same type as the Siloam inscription (Stade, Cheyne) refer it to the period of Jeroboam II, others to Jeroboam I. "It may belong equally well to the age of Jeroboam I, for in the absence of great monuments in the Canaanite script anterior to the Moabite, no one is able to show that this type of script underwent material changes in the period between Jeroboam I and Mesha. In fact the character of the Greek alphabet, which had evidently branched off before the tenth century, points to a long period of stability in the oldest types. The contention that the seal was prepared during the reign of Jeroboam II rests largely upon the assumption that the prominence of court-officials, among whom was also the office of 'servant of the king' fits in better with the later period than with the first years of the Northern Kingdom".[32] The latter claim, however, has little force in view of the list of officials of all kinds mentioned in 1 K. 4 as connected with Solomon's court.

Lidzbarski urges substantially the same view as Kautzsch: "The script has the oldest impress of the Semitic alphabet. But the *mem* already shows the germ of a peculiarity found later only in the specifically Hebrew script. The first and third lines of the serrated head of the letter were cut parallel to the shaft and with equal thickness, and the two other lines in lighter strokes. The chief stroke of the upper mem is somewhat longer than that of the lower; but this is probably due to the nature of the margin. Otherwise the script of the seal has a much older appearance than that of Siloam; and the period in which the same writing as that upon the seal was in general use, was long before that of the Siloam. Accordingly the script would point to the age of Jeroboam I." *(Ephem.)*

As Kautzsch and Lidzbarski are high European authorities in such matters, we are justified in assigning the seal to the time of Jeroboam I, or about 920 B. C. Epigraphically the inscription falls between 950 and 875. In the chart, col. XXIII, we give the approximate date 900-800, as a compromise between the various views.

Some important conclusions follow from the above discovery. First, it is clear that writing must have attained a high degree of perfection in Israel in the tenth century B. C., for this seal is a work of art. It is on jasper in the form of a scarabæoid and shows a high state of finish. The firmness and regularity of the letters indicate a long period of permanence of forms, extending over centuries and implying a guild of men engaged in engraving on wood and stone. Before such an art became established in Israel, there must have been a long period in which more convenient and tractable material than stone, namely papyrus and membranes, were employed. Thus, again, it appears that no violence is done to facts, if we hold that writing, and that too as a permanent embodiment of literature, was known in Israel from the date of the judges and even the Exodus.

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[32] Kautzsch, *Ein Althebraeisches Siegel von Tell el-Mutsellin* in *Mitt. u. Nachr. d. Deut. Palaes. Vereins, 1904.*

4. *The Samaria Ostraca.*

Recently some inscriptions have been discovered in Palestine which prove conclusively that the archaic Phœnician script was well known in Israel in 900 B. C. In 1910 the Harvard Expedition to Palestine, headed by Prof. G. A. Reisner, conducted excavations on the site of the ancient city of Samaria, capital of the Northern Kingdom. There was discovered part of a massive Hebrew structure, believed to be the palace of Omri and Ahab. This building is supposed to have covered more than one and a half acres and shows four periods of construction, tentatively assigned to Omri, Ahab, Jehu and Jeroboam II. "The belief", says Prof. D. G. Lyon, "that the building was originally erected by Omri and Ahab was based on archæological grounds, and seems greatly strengthened by the discovery of an alabaster vase inscribed with the name of Ahab's contemporary, Osorkon II of Egypt. Of unusual interest is a series of ostraca found at the level of the Osorkon vase, and comprising some seventy-five fragments of pottery inscribed with records or memoranda in the ancient Hebrew character." *(Harv. Theolog. Rev.,* Jan., 1911).

The script of these ostraca is the Phœnician. "It is practically identical with that of the Siloam Tunnel inscription, and this fact settles at a stroke the disputed question whether that inscription can be as old as the time of Hezekiah. It is also the same as that of the Moabite Stone . . . The inscriptions are written in ink with a reed pen in an easy, flowing hand and show a pleasing contrast to the stiff forms of Phœnician inscriptions cut in stone. The graceful curves give evidence of a skill which comes only with long practice. In many of the inscriptions the ink is so well preserved that the readings are subject to no doubt, and in only a few cases is there uncertainty. Such distinctness after twenty-eight centuries in a damp soil is a marvel. The reading is facilitated by the dots or strokes which divide the words from one another" (Lyon). Chart, cols. XXIII, XXIV.

In general the inscriptions seem to be labels attached to jars, or groups of jars, in the cellar or store-house, giving date, ownership and origin of the jars.[33]

At this writing the facsimiles of the script have not yet been published, and so it is impossible to compare the forms of the letters with those on the Moabite Stone, the Jeroboam seal and other early Phœnician types. They will however prove of the highest value to Hebraists and epigraphists. They are the earliest specimens of Hebrew writing which have ever been found, and in number and legibility they far surpass all known archaic Hebrew inscriptions. Dating from the reign of Omri (900-875) and Ahab (875-53), these ostraca take us back to within a century of the time of David and afford indubitable proof of the antiquity of writing among the Hebrews.

German authorities agree that these Harvard "finds" are by far the most valuable of modern times. That these ostraca are in the archaic Hebrew script opens "an entirely new perspective", says Kittel. "I have for some time had the firm conviction that an extensive literature on papyrus and in the native (*i. e.* Phœnician) script existed in Syria and Palestine toward the close of the second millennium B. C. This view receives strong support from the ostraca, for it must be assumed that in Palestine, not clay but skins and papyrus were the original and most suitable material for pen and ink. If, as Lyon intimates, the script is decidedly cursive, our view is doubly sustained. Neither the script nor the material (pen and ink) was first introduced in 900, but they imply long practice on papyrus and therefore an extended literature prior to 900 B. C. in Canaan and Israel" *(Theolg. Literaturb.,* Feb., 1911).

Lyon writes: "It is not improbable that thousands of such records may exist at Samaria. In some parts of the hill, less overturned than the summit has been by the burrowing of later builders, it is likely that multitudes of business documents await the explorer, documents giving records of sale, barter, contract, and all phases of private and social transactions. More than this, may we not even hope for historical records? We know that the kings of Israel had their court annalists. And while we may be sure that their work was committed mainly to perishable material, other parts of it may have been written on stone, pottery, or clay. Such possibility is enough to kindle the imagination of every student of Palestinian history" (*op. cit.*, p., 142).

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[33] We reproduce a few of the inscriptions as translated by Prof. Lyon. No. 6: "In the tenth year. Wine of the vineyard of the Tell. With a jar of fine oil." No. 13: "In the tenth year. From Abiezer. For Shemaryo. A jar of the old wine for Asa. From the Tell." No. 47: "In the eleventh year. From Abiezer. For Asa, Akhimelek and Baala. From Elnathan".

5. *Other Archaic Hebrew Inscriptions.*

Other ancient Hebrew inscriptions have been discovered in recent years in Palestine and add immensely to our knowledge of the state of writing among the Hebrews in the early centuries of the monarchy. At Tell es Safi, Tell Zakariya, Tell Sandahannah and Tell ej Judeideh, Bliss and Macalister unearthed a number of inscribed jar-handles. Twenty-five of these were stamped with Hebrew names such as Shebaniah, Azzariah, Azzur, Menahem, etc., referring either to the owner, or to the potter who made the vessel. In addition to these were some others of a different type, with the device of a winged scarab impressed upon them and bearing the names of four towns, Hebron, Ziph, Sucoh and Mamshith, preceded by a phrase probably meaning "of the King". The script varies, pre-Siloam, Siloam and post-Siloam types being represented. A few are probably as early as 900, B. C. In any event these objects testify that in 900-700, the art of writing and engraving in the Phœnician alphabet must have been far advanced in Israel.[34] Chart, col. XXIII.

6. *Importance of Seals in Ancient Times.*

In recent years other archaic Hebrew inscriptions, mostly seals and gems, some earlier, some later, than the Siloam, have come to light. As seals played a prominent role in the ancient Orient, especially in Israel, we describe them briefly. In antiquity, when only comparatively few could write, the seal was extensively used for a variety of purposes. Seal impressions not only attested a man's signature (when a letter or document was to be authenticated), but also served the same purposes as locks and keys in modern times; they afforded a certain degree of protection against slaves and thieves. Men of wealth and station had their private seals; royal officers had in addition public seals bearing the name of the king. Modern research has brought to view hundreds of seals in Babylonia, Egypt, Syria, Palestine and the Greek islands, all of them exhibiting some artistic and national characteristics.[35]

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[34] See Bliss and Macalister, *Excavations in Palestine.* Facsimiles of the scarabs and jar-handles are given in their plate 56. Nos. 1—3 read: "of the king, Hebron"; 4—9, "of the king, Sucoh"; 10, 12, 13, 14, "of the king, Ziph"; 16, 17, "of the king, Mamshith"; 20, "Hoshea, son of Zaphron"; 21, "Shebaniah, son of Azariah"; 28, "of Azzur, son of Haggai".

Sayce in a review of the date of the jar-handles, in the *Palestine Expl. Fund*, 1900, inclines to the view that they are similar to those of the Amarna period. As they disappeared toward the end of the sixth century, he assigns them to 800 B. C. and some of them possibly to the age of Solomon. Lidz. *(Ephem.*, I, 182) sees two styles of writing, a later, post-exilic, and an earlier, with letters substantially as on the Moabite Stone. The presence of *jod* as vowel-letter is explained on the theory that the *matres lectionis* in the Semitic texts are earlier by far than generally supposed, being found already in Bar-rekub.

Seals were universally in vogue in the ancient world, "extending from the mists of Babylonian antiquity to the decline of Roman civilization" *(Ecy. Brit.)*. Gems, seals, signets, dating as far back as 3500 B. C. have been found in Egypt and the Euphrates valley.[36] They were probably used also in Canaan in the third millennium B. C.; the account of Judah's signet in Gen. 38: 18, 25, is therefore in accord with contemporaneous usage: "He gives it as a pledge, because it was the one thing which could be proved to belong to him and would serve to identify him" (Hast. *op. cit.,* p., 513).

(1). *The Egyptian Seal.* The Egyptian seal has the characteristic form of a scarab (from the Latin *scarabaeus,* a beetle, which was sacred in Egypt). It was made of wood, ebony, lapis lazuli, rarely of metal or glass, was enameled, colored, and sometimes modified in form. The latter are called scarabæoids. Various objects were engraved on the lower edge, either hieroglyphics, containing the name of the wearer, the king or a god, or figures of birds, snakes, lotus-flowers and geometrical forms.[37]

(2). *The Babylonian Seal.* Among the Babylonians the seal had characteristically the form of a cylinder, or a little roller three-fourths of an inch to two long, and from one-half to one inch in diameter, with engraved letters and pictures. It was made of basalt, porphyry, jasper, or clay, pierced longitudinally and suspended from the neck of the owner by a linen or woolen cord. Rolled over the moist clay, it produced a clear impression. Seals without figures are rare; besides the script, they contain engraved representations changing with the taste of the age, but relating mostly to the worship of the gods. It is thought that the seal-cylinder was native to Babylonia, although found in pre-historic times in Egypt. Its use in Egypt extended to the close of the 18th dynasty, when it was almost wholly displaced by the scarab.

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[35] "In the early days of civilization the art of writing was practically limited to a class of professional scribes. Every one outside that class, from the king downwards, needed a signet to authenticate the documents with which he was concerned. Herodotus, I, 195, says, of the Babylonians, *each one has a seal*" (Hast. *Dic. Bible,* IV, 513).

[36] "The seal, owing no doubt to its convenient size and practical use, was adopted by all the nations of antiquity at an early period. Its use was so universal when the book of Genesis was written, that Judah is represented as giving to Tamar his staff, bracelets and signet, as pledges (38: 18); whilst in Exodus, semi-precious stones, graven with the names of the twelve tribes of Israel, set in gold, and ouched with chains of the same shiny metal, are distributed about the breast and shoulders of Aaron's robe: 'like the engravings of a signet', Ex. 28: 21" (Perrot and Chipiez, *Hist. of Art,* I, 338).

[37] "In proportion to the rank and wealth of their possessors, they were carved on sard, amethyst, chalcedony, and serpentine; also on tenderer material, schist, green, blue and maculated stones; the greater proportion in vitrified terra-cotta—many very beautiful in ivory, bound or mounted in silver rings and bracelets" (M. Sommerville, *Engraved Gems,* etc., p., 41).

(3). *The Hebrew Seal.* Recent excavations have shown that in Palestine both forms of the seal, the Egyptian scarab and the Babylonian cylinder, were in use. So far as indicated by the discoveries to date, it would seem that the scarab was the more popular; in fact, however, a style peculiarly Palestinian or Israelite, a blending of the scarab and the cylinder, gradually developed. Thus the Jeroboam seal, described above, has the Egyptian form of a scarabæoid; but the engraving represents a lion in an attitude characteristically Babylonian. Still more characteristic of the Palestinian type is a seal-cylinder found in Taannak, which in addition to the Babylonian script and images, has Egyptian hieroglyphics and amulets. This seal, which dates from the time of Hammurabi, was produced in Canaan and shows that already in 2,000 B. C. a commingling of Babylonian and Egyptian culture had taken place.

Up to the present time some fifty seals in the archaic Hebrew script have been found. In contrast with other old Semitic or Egyptian seals, the best types have rarely any pictures of animals and natural objects (Ex. "Thou shalt not make unto thee a graven image, etc.,"). The legend or lettering is generally in two lines separated by strokes, or in the margin, if the seal be oval. That the Hebrews early made use of seals is now generally allowed by scholars.[38]

7. *Archaic Hebrew Seals.*

We give a brief account of the most important archaic Hebrew seals as evidence that the Phœnician script was quite extensively employed by the Hebrews at a comparatively early date.

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[38] "Not only at head centres, as at Jerusalem and Samaria, but in every town were doubtless shops in the various bazaars, where carnelian, hematite, jasper and onyx were cut to the required shape; symbols and ornaments having been previously prepared, so that the buyer had only to wait the time necessary to have his name engraved. A handcraft which is the monopoly of the few is sure to pay well; it is not to be supposed, therefore, that the Israelites would be backward in trying to become proficient in an art which promised so well, albeit they could not hope to displace the Phœnicians, whose multitudinous workshops turned out intaglios, both on stone and on tinted or figured glass paste, in such quantities and at so moderate a price as to be within the means of the humblest; to them the art in all its minute and intricate delicacy was an open book and child's play" (Perrot and Chipiez, *op. cit.*, I, 338).

(1). *The Shemayahu Seal.* This is one of the oldest of extant Hebrew seals. It was purchased by Waddington in Aleppo and is fully described by Levy, who regards it as of the eighth pre-Christian century. Lidzbarski places it somewhat earlier. A strange peculiarity is that the figure of an ox or bull separates the upper and lower lines of the inscription. This however, is in accord with the popular representation of Jehovah by a bull in early times. It reads: "Belonging to Shemayahu, son of Azarahu". Chart, col. XXIII.

(2). *The Obadiah Seal.* This is a typical Hebrew seal with merely the name engraved upon it thus: "Belonging to Obadiah, servant of the king". It is to be regretted that Obadiah did not add the name of the king whom he served. In that case we could with greater confidence identify him with the true worshipper of Jehovah who was the governor of Ahab's palace and a friend of Elijah (1 K. 18). In any event "the seal of that official must have closely resembled ours, for the inscription arranged in two lines is archaic enough to be carried back to that remote period" (Perrot and Chipiez, *op. cit.,* p., 340), that is to about 860 B. C.

(3). *The Shebaniah Seal.* Another seal regarded as of Hebrew origin is a beautiful oval sapphirene carnelian. "On the obverse stands a male figure, staff in hand, in an attitude of worship. His dress, which falls on the ankles leaving the upper part of the body uncovered, recalls that of an Egyptian page. His name Shebaniah forms a line behind him". On the reverse, between the upper and lower lines of the legend, "Belonging to Shebaniah son of Uzziah", is a winged solar disk. The script is of the classic period. If the Uzziah is the king of that name, as seems probable, we have here a definite chronological datum, since he ruled in 777-36 (Revised Chronology).

(4). *The Abijah Seal.* This is a scarab of the same general type as the preceding, though smaller. Between the two lines an Egyptian deity (perhaps) is represented as kneeling before a lotus-tree. The seal belonged to "Abijah, servant of Uzziah". The letters are of a form midway between the Moabite and Siloam. The epigraphic and historical data indicate that the seal was made in the age of Uzziah.

(5). *The Ustinow Seal.* An ancient seal, designated here by the name of its present owner, Baron Ustinow, is of great but disputed age. It is a Karneol in the form of an ellipsoid, with rounded sides. It contains in neatly inscribed archaic

Hebrew characters the legend, "Belonging to Schema, servant of the king". Its age has been discussed by Kautzsch, Vincent and Lidzbarski. The former would assign it to the same period as the above described Jeroboam seal; Vincent and Lidzbarski on epigraphic grounds place it a century or so later. From a careful examination of the letters, the present writer would regard it as earlier, certainly not later, than the Siloam inscription. In any event, it shows that engraving was generally cultivated in Israel in the eighth century B. C.

(6). *The El-Siggeb Seal.* The inscription runs: "Belonging to El-Siggeb, daughter of El-Shamai". The two lines are separated by a war-like figure; two animals on the side of a plant. Assigned to the seventh century.

(7). *The Joshua Seal.* Another old Hebrew seal, purchased by Prof. C. C. Torrey in Sidon, is thus described by him: "It is a scarabæoid, longitudinally pierced. The material is agate, nearly white, and the inscribed surface measures three-quarters of an inch in length". The legend, "Belonging to Joshua, son of Asayahu", is in two lines. The script is regular and beautiful; assigned to the seventh century by Lidzbarski.

(8). *The Haggai Seal.* A hematite seal, found by Sir C. Warren in Jerusalem at a depth of some twenty feet. The inscription in two lines: "Haggai, son of Shebaneiah". The letters are sufficiently archaic to date from the Uzziah period.

(9). *The Hananiahu Seals.* We mention next two ancient seals described by Cl. Ganneau. One found in Jerusalem, consists of "a very hard siliceous stone, convex and oval in shape, with a Phœnician palmette engraved with rare perfection above the legend, "Hananiahu, son of Akbor"; on the other, likewise a scarab, but somewhat larger, a ring of poppies or pomegranates surrounds the lettering, "Belonging to Hananiahu, son of Azariah".

(10). *The Maaseyahu Seal.* A seal found in 1902 at Tell ej-Gudejide and owned by Baron Ustinow is inscribed in characters of the classic Hebrew script: "Belonging to Maaseyahu son of Meshallem". Its date is approximately 700 B. C.

(11). *An Ancient Scarabaeoid.* We merely mention here a seal with a strange device and in archaic Hebrew script, but on account of illegibility of the letters not perfectly decipherable. It is a scarabæoid of red-grey Karneol, pierced longitudinally, and was found in Egypt. Lidzbarski pronounces it as very ancient *(Ephem.,* I, 11).

(12). *The Hareph Seal.* Found in Hebron in 1900, and reads, "Belonging to Uzziahu, son of Hareph". The script is quite similar to the Siloam, and, as in that, the words are separated by a point. 1 C. 2: 51.

8. *Other Early Hebrew Seals.*

Among other ancient Hebrew seals worthy of mention are the following: "Zakkur, son of Hushai"; "Amadiyahu, daughter of Shebanayahu"; "Neeheveth, daughter of Ramelayahu"; "Abigail, wife of Asayahu"; "Menahemeth, wife of Gaddimelek".

From the preceding it is evident that seals were very generally in use among the Hebrews from the year 900 B. C. and onward and indicate an advanced state of writing. Attention may be directed to the fact that a considerable number were the property of women, which implies a highly complex social and economic order.

Doubt may arise whether all the seals enumerated above are really Hebrew. "We are quite willing to admit", say Perrot and Chipiez, "that seals where one of the proper names is compounded of Jehovah were wrought by or for Israelites; for example Jehu, Joash, Jonathan, Ahiah, El, Elohim. But the question is more difficult of solution when the name is joined with Baal, as Eshbaal, Abimelech, Jerubbaal, etc., which, although found in the Bible and borne by Jews of position, are common to all Semitic races, and might with equal propriety have belonged to Sidonians and Canaanites, as to Jews inhabiting Jerusalem or any other part of Palestine. With all these restrictions, we may accept as unreservedly Jewish a number of intaglios with inscriptions in old Hebrew characters" (*op. cit.,* p., 339). As however, Hebrew words containing Baal, as Jerubbaal, are early, the presence of this word in the compound is a proof of early date.

9. *Later Archaic Hebrew Inscriptions.*

From the preceding survey it appears that the archaic Hebrew script while substantially the same underwent a gradual development from the earliest times to about the fifth century B. C. After that time the rate of change is somewhat more rapid. Nevertheless, some seals and most of the coins bear a distinctly archaic impress, from which it may be inferred that the archaic script was still in general use in 500-300. Unfortunately we have no long, and very few, short Hebrew inscriptions from this period. The later Phœnician inscriptions may, however, be taken as fair representatives of the script in use in this period. We shall not err greatly if we regard the Tabnith inscription of Sidon, 300 B. C., as approximating to the contemporaneous Hebrew script.

E. COMPARISON OF PHOENICIAN, ARAMAIC AND ARCHAIC HEBREW SCRIPT.

We may now compare the three preceding types of the early Semitic script on the basis of the three representatives, the Moabite Stone, the Early Zinjirli monuments, and the Gezer and Siloam inscriptions. The respective dates, about 900, 825, and 825-725, lend themselves admirably for our purpose. That the comparison may be still more exhaustive, we include important later inscriptions, as the Hassan Bey-li, Nora and Abydos among the Phœnician, the Panammu, Nerab and Teima among the Aramaic and the 8—7 century seals among the Hebrew. The generalization, therefore covers about four centuries for each of the types, a period of sufficient length to exhibit the law of development both after and before 900 B. C.

The detailed examination shows that as early as 900 a script substantially the same, yet with marked variations, was in use in districts as widely separated as Cyprus, Moab, Jerusalem, Zinjirli, Asia Minor, Egypt, and Assyria. A long period would be required in that age for the introduction and general prevalence of such a script among nations between whom communication was rare and difficult. Several generations would scarcely suffice to overcome the well known conservatism of the ancient world in regard to the novelty; several more would be required to supplant the old method. Besides, time would elapse before the news of the invention and its merits would be carried to other countries. If the rate of progress and extension was not more rapid than from 900 to 500, three or five centuries would elapse before the general introduction of the new script and its adoption in the above named countries.

On epigraphic grounds everything points to the probability that the old Semitic characters were devised about the middle of the second millennium B. C., perhaps even earlier. The historical situation also points in that direction. The Mediterranean people were in a state of intense activity; commerce and the arts were flourishing. Egyptians, Phœnicians, Dorians, Sidonians, Hittites, were engaged in great commercial enterprises, rendering such a medium of international communication an absolute necessity.

The fact that the Amarna Letters were composed in the cuneiform script is no decisive argument against this view. In any event the officials in Egypt, Babylonia and Canaan would use a script generally known at the time and not one lately invented, however superior.[39] The Assyrian scribes, even if conversant with the Semitic (Phœnician), would employ the international script. The claim that the use of the cuneiform in the Amarna Letters implies the non-existence of the Semitic is illicit, for the same logic would prove its non-existence ten centuries later. It seems incredible (nevertheless it is a fact) that the Assyrians and Persians retained the lumbering and complicated cuneiform at least six centuries after the simple Semitic alphabet had been introduced into practically all the civilized countries of the East. Unless public sentiment, or those shaping it, favored the introduction, its adoption in any country would be indefinitely delayed.

II.

SOUTH-SEMITIC OR ARABIC INSCRIPTIONS.[40]

At an early period, the primitive Semitic alphabet split up into two great stems, the North Semitic, and the South Semitic. Formerly it was assumed that the S. Semitic script, represented by the various Arabic dialects, as the Minæan and Sabæan, were later developments of the N. Semitic. But in recent years, E. Glaser and F. Hommel have contended that the S. Arabian script originated about the beginning of the second millennium B. C. and penetrated the West Land before the Amarna period. That a high civilization existed in Southern Arabia at a remote date is attested by the ruins of ancient towns, temples and aqueducts, and especially by numerous extant inscriptions. According to Hommel the latter are "written in an alphabet which belongs, at the very lowest estimate, to the same period as the so-called Phœnician alphabet, and must therefore be referred, together with the Phœnician, and the Greek alphabet, which is derived from it, to one and the same source, viz. the Western Semitic alphabet, the structural source of which has not yet been made out. This circumstance alone is an argument in favor of ascribing these inscriptions to the middle or perhaps even to the beginning of the second millennium before Christ. The question whether they take their origin from the Egyptian hieratic script, or as seems far more probable, from the ancient Egyptian, is quite a separate one" *(Anc. Heb. Trad.*, p., 75).

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[39] That the Canaanite words in the Amarna Letters are represented by cuneiform characters is quite natural under the circumstances. A parallel case is the difficulty of introducing a system of simplified orthography into English. "There is nothing to prevent us from assuming that the Canaanite (or so-called Phœnician) script was in use in Palestine during the Amarna period; at that time, however, it had not yet been officially employed as the medium of diplomatic correspondence with Egypt" (Hommel, *Anc. Heb. Trad.*, p., 275).

[40] Various names, as Arabic, Ishmaelite, Ethiopic, and Joktanite, have been suggested. Most of these are too narrow. For our purpose the terms Arabic and S. Semitic are sufficiently exact and comprehensive.

The South Arabian inscriptions are written in two dialects, the Minæan and the Sabæan. The earliest Sabæan inscriptions belong to the first millennium B. C., not later than 800, and probably as early as 900, or 1,000. Next come Sabæan inscriptions from the 8th to the 3rd century B. C., and lastly Neo-Sabæan inscriptions as late as 600 A. D. The Minæan inscriptions may be assigned to 900-200 B. C. Extensive collections of early Arabic inscriptions have been made by Arnaud, Halèvy and Glaser; and these writers together with Sayce and Hommel would trace the origin of the Arabic alphabet to a period at least contemporaneous with the Phœnician. Starting from the view held by some Semitic scholars, that the first dynasty of Babylon was of Arabian, and not of Canaanite or Babylonian origin, these investigators reach the conclusion that all the conditions were present for the formation of a South Arabic script at the date indicated. "Although at present we cannot state whether as early as the time of Hammurabi a Minæan empire existed, and from which part of Arabia its dynasty came, nevertheless, from a study of the proper names we can draw the result that, even at that period, an Arabian civilization existed equal to the Minæo-Sabæan" (Hommel, *Rec. Research, etc.*, p., 143). "The most flourishing period of the Minæan empire, we must consider the centuries preceding and following 1,000 B. C., or perhaps more correctly about 1500 to 800 B. C. (*ibid.*, p., 152).[41]

The views of Hommel and Glaser have received support from other quarters. Thus Larfeld *(Greek Epigraphy)* says: "The Phœnician Alphabet is assumed to have some connection with the Minæan-Sabæan inscriptions of Arabia. If Glaser is correct, the writing is as early as 1500 B. C. In that case, allowance being made for the development implied in the earliest inscriptions, the script arose as far back as 1800 B. C. From various examples it is evident that the forms of some letters are older than the Canaanite. Thus the form of *pe* resembles more nearly the supposed original pictograph than in the Phœnician. Again, the forms of *kaph* (Latin *palma*) and *jod* (Lat. *manus*) approach more nearly the original pictographs." All this points to some connection in remote times between Canaan and Southern Arabia. This fact, however, would not prove that the Phœnician alphabet was subsequent to, or derived from the South-Semitic. Chart, col. XXIX.

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[41] In short, Hommel contends that the S. Arabian script antedates the N. Semitic, and that the alphabet was brought to Phœnicia from Arabia. "The oldest traditions of the Hebrews must still have been written in the Minæan alphabet *(Mitt. d. Vorder. As. Gesell.*, 1897, p., 271). Later positions of Hommel will be considered in another connection.

On the other hand, since many of the inscriptions are of unknown or of late date, the argument for the great antiquity of the Sabæan-Minæan script, is alleged to rest on a slender basis. Lieu. Col. Conder regards the whole Arabic hypothesis with suspicion: "That the alphabet should have originated in Arabia is improbable. The Arabs adopted the civilization of Babylon, and of the Hebrew and Phœnician traders who first visited Yemem, about the time when letters took the place of cuneiform signs in Syria. . . . . It was from the Phœnicians that the Arabs must have learned letters, and no ancient author ever suggested the contrary explanation" *(Hittites,* etc.,). Lidzbarski also opposes the theory. "Whoever has any knowledge of the art of writing sees that the form of the script, as it appears even in the oldest S. Arabic monuments, is not primitive, but must be the result of a long development. The S. Semitic script would in that case go back at least to the beginning of the second millennium B. C. But we have knowledge of the N. Semitic since about 1,000 B. C. Since certainly at this time and even earlier, commercial relations existed between Canaan and Yemen, one could regard the Sabæan-Minæan script not only as an elder sister but really the mother of the N. Semitic alphabet. Is this correct?" *(Ephem. I,* 110). Nevertheless Lidz. argues at some length against such a view and in support of the N. Semitic origin (but we reserve a full consideration of his position for a later head).

It follows from the preceding that S. Semitic inscriptions go back to at least 1200 B. C., implying a very ancient civilization, sufficiently far advanced to produce a high literature. Lidzbarski's admission that the oldest extant S. Arabic inscriptions imply "a long development" is significant in this connection and warrants the conclusion that a permanence of type was reached not later than 1300. All this implies that the N. and S. Semitic scripts split off from each other and from the primitive Semitic or proto-Phœnician at an indefinitely determined date, but probably about 1500. This would throw back the origin of the primitive Semitic alphabet to about 1900-1500 B. C., to which other considerations (as the science of alphabetology and the early introduction of the alphabet into Greece) point.

CHAPTER VIII.

INTRODUCTION OF THE PHOENICIAN ALPHABET INTO GREECE.

A. EARLY GREEK HISTORY AND CIVILIZATION.

1. *The Pre-Hellenic Period.*

Recent authorities in Greek history, archæology and literature emphasize the fact that the Greeks came upon the field of history at a much earlier date than was formerly supposed.[1] It is immaterial whether we designate this early civilization as Pelasgic, Mycenæan, Achæan, Dorian, or pre-Hellenic, the fact remains that by the middle of the second millennium B. C. great progress had been made in all the arts. The researches of Evans, Schliemann and others have enabled us to recover a very ancient civilization.

2. *Writing Earlier than Inscriptions.*

The earliest writing in Greece, as elsewhere, was upon comparatively tractable material, as leaves, wood and hides. The custom of engraving inscriptions on stone and metal, is of later date, and implies considerable skill in the arts. Centuries earlier than the Greeks, the Orientals covered the walls of their temples with accounts of the victories of their kings. The ruins of Cretan palaces from the Mycenæan and pre-Mycenæan times contain arabesques with alphabetic characters; and numerous jars and vases, covered with a remarkable linear script, prove that in that remote period writing on various kinds of material was in use extensively in the region of the Aegean Sea.

But that early period of considerable culture with its skill in pictographic writing was followed by a decline intellectually and epigraphically. Between the age of intellectual activity of the Mycenæans and that in which the Greeks adopted the Phœnician alphabet, there took place the immigration of the Dorians into the Peloponessus; as a result the enfeebled rulers of the islands and the mainland succumbed to the powerful, but rude invaders. Fortunately the Greek spirit soon revived. Driven from their native heath, the Greek tribes planted colonies on the Western coast of Asia Minor. Among the arts carried with them was the Semitic alphabet.

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[1] "From about the fifteenth century until the twelfth one sees rising from the obscure background, probably under the influence of Egypt, Phœnicia. Babylonia and Phrygia, certain groups of peoples with distinctly marked characteristics. One may call the period pre-Hellenic, since it comes between the Pelasgic age and the Hellenic. The groups of Asia came to be more Asiatic, while those of the islands and in Greece proper, especially in the Eastern shores, began to take on an Ionian aspect. These latter, though somewhat inclined toward the Orient, are separated from it, and are open to cultivate at home the precious elements of civilization. . . . . Toward the twelfth century again, there were important movements among the pre-Hellenic tribes, and then began the real period of Hellenization" (Croisset, *Hist. Greek Literature,* 1904).

3. *Testimony of Early Greek Authors.*[2]

As will be pointed out presently, this alphabet was probably mediated to the Greeks by the Phœnicians. No Greek inscriptions of this early period are extant; "but no grounds exist for impugning the early Greek writers that they themselves saw very ancient inscriptions on jars and vases.[3] The earliest examples of writing pertain to the offices of religion; and in Greece the priests were the first to cultivate the art extensively. The oldest epigraphic monuments were executed under their direction. Lists of the victors at the annual religious festivals are among the earliest records, ninth to eighth century" (Larfeld, *op. cit.)*.

Another high authority says: "It is now generally admitted that the Greeks had learned the art of writing from the great commercial people (the Phœnicians) not later than the ninth century, and probably as much as *three centuries* earlier. For a long time it would only be employed for such limited and private uses as the writing of names on lots. Probably its more extended use began in the temples, where inscribed offerings and registers of priests and of sacrifice existed at an early date. . . . . It is likely that the Greeks did not begin to inscribe upon marble until they had experimented with the use of writing on leaves, clay, metal, wood and other substances" (Hicks and Hill, *Manual of Greek Hist. Inscrip.*, 1901).

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[2] The highest European authority on Greek inscriptions is W. Larfeld, whose *Handbuch d. Griech. Epigraphik*, 2 Baende, Leip. 1907, has been constantly consulted. Years ago, Larfeld established his reputation by the article on *Griechische Epigraphik* in the second edition of Mueller's *Handbuch d. Klass. Altertums-Wissenschaft*, in which he laid down the lines of investigation subsequently carried out more fully in the above work. Larfeld surpasses Kirchhoff as much as the latter his predecessors. He is a safe investigator, who looks at all sides of a subject. Unless otherwise indicated, our references are to the *Handbuch*.

[3] Boeckh says (CIG, I, 63) that previous to the Trojan War the use of writing (Larfeld suggests 'the epigraphic use of writing') was exceedingly rare among the Greeks and that only a few inscriptions are earlier than the First Olympiad, 776, B. C. Andrew Lang writes: "There is no reason why Pausanias should not have seen at Ascra, as he tells us that he did, if not the original copy of Hesiod, at least an extremely ancient copy, chiseled on thin and mouldering plates of lead" *(Homer and the Epic)*.

The classical writers agree in ascribing the introduction of the alphabet to the Phœnicians. Herodotus says: "The Phœnicians introduced into Greece the knowledge of letters, of which, as it seems to me, the Greeks had heretofore been ignorant" (V: 58). So also Diodorus Siculus; and Pliny affirms that "to the Phœnicians belongs the glory of the invention of the alphabet" *(Nat. Hist.*, V: 12). The word alphabet itself, composed of *alpha* and *beta,* is also a silent witness. These words are plainly identical with the names *aleph* and *beth,* meaning respectively *ox* and *house* in the Phœnician, but meaningless in the Greek. In short the names, number, order and forms of the primitive Greek alphabet attest a Semitic origin. See Chart, cols. XXX, XXXI, XXXII.

4. *The Cretan Script.*

Larfeld is disposed to allow considerable weight to the researches of A. J. Evans cited above: "Through the epoch-making work of Evans, the existence of an archaic hieroglyphic and a linear script in the islands and coasts of the Eastern Mediterranean has been established, of which the former contains echoes of the Hittite picture script of Asia Minor and North Syria, and the latter, some remarkable agreements with the Cypriote syllabary, reaching far down into the historical period. Both systems of writing stretch over a vast period and belong to the beginning of the second millennium B. C. The hieroglyphic system seems to have been substantially the script of the oldest inhabitants of Crete and of the pre-Mycenæan age; the linear script to which the Homeric 'signs' (Iliad, VI: 168) may belong seems to have been the Mycenæan system in the broadest sense" (Larf., *op. cit.*).

According to Evans, the alphabetic forms borrowed by the Greeks from the Phœnicians were influenced by the pre-historical Aegean script. Of the 22 letters of the Phœnician alphabet, about 12 closely resemble one or the other of the Cretan characters. In view of such marked parallelism in the form and significance of the signs, Evans is convinced that de Rougé's hypothesis of the derivation of the Phœnician script from the Egyptian can no longer be maintained; he suggests that the Phœnician-Greek alphabet represents a selection of signs from a syllabic script of the same group as the Cretan.

Such a combination of circumstances on the Syrian coast may perhaps have been due to the arrival in the Mycenæan times of a people from the Aegean Sea, as *e. g.*, the Philistines, who, though afterward Semitized, but known in the Old Testament as Kaphtorim and Krethim, are supposed to have migrated from Crete. That the Philistines were originally inhabitants of Crete is clear, says Evans, from the Egyptian monuments, which represent this people from "the island in the sea" as bearing tribute; these data harmonize perfectly with the style of gems and seals found in the Eastern part of Crete.

B. ORIGIN OF THE GREEK ALPHABET.

According to Larfeld, neither the linear script of the primitive Hellenic period, nor the syllabic script of the Cretans exerted any perceptible influence on the development of the Greek alphabet. "As the Greek immigrants of Cyprus, of whom only a small number could write at all, soon exchanged their own script for that current in the island, so the Greeks remaining in the circle of the Aegean, abandoned in the course of centuries their heavy native script for the more perfect alphabet of the Phœnicians. In spite of all minor differences, the various local Greek alphabets exhibit agreement in the fundamental forms, which indicates not only relationship with each other, but a common origin of the characters. In answering the question of the origin of the Greek alphabet we are thrown back upon sources of unequal value, namely tradition, formal statements and the inscriptions" (Larf., *op. cit.*, II, 330).

The Greek inscriptions point to some Semitic people. Not only were the letters called "Phœnician signs", but in the archaic form they are strikingly similar to the archaic Phœnician inscriptions. The direction of the writing in the oldest Greek monuments, from right to left, is an undoubted proof of Semitic origin. See this exhibited in the chart, col. XXX. Though the Phœnician alphabet may have been introduced into Greece at various points, it probably spread from some prominent center. Where was this? Bœotia, Asia Minor, and Delphi have been suggested.[4]

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[4] According to Bergk "there is inherent probability that in Bœotia, where the Aeolic and Ionian races came into immediate contact, the Semitic alphabet first gained a footing, that the Aeolic race (an old representative of an advanced civilization) derived it from the Phœnicians through business intercourse, and that then the Ionians learned it from the Aeolians and made further changes". Curtius, starting from his view that the Hellenes migrated first to Asia Minor and afterward to Europe, holds that the Phœnician alphabet was first introduced into Asia Minor, and then independently adopted in various districts by European Greeks, above all by the Bœotians.

Larfeld says: "The theory of the spread of the Greek alphabet from Bœotia appears to me to be improbable for the reason that this country lacked the requisite vantage-ground for moulding the life and culture of ancient Greece. With much greater likelihood of success, one may seek the starting-point of the imported script, in Delphi, the rallying-point of the intellectual life of Greece and the center of the powerful Amphictyonic Council, which already in a period to which our historical data do not extend, united the different Greek clans in a peaceful and prosperous development. It is inconceivable that the astute Delphic priests would not have had a prominent part and manifested the deepest interest in such an important agent of Greek culture as the alphabet. They would be the first to patronize it. Already in a hoary antiquity, the Phœnicians from Crete had come to Delphi, and Delphic priests, constituting in fact one of the oldest academies of learning, may well have mediated to their countrymen the priceless possession of the alphabet in a form adapted to the genius of the Greek language" *(op. cit.,* I, 344).[5]

We are concerned here, not in settling the dispute of the epigraphists and palæographers, but in drawing certain practical conclusions. Whether the Phœnician alphabet was adopted by the Greeks at one point, from which it spread to others; or, whether it was introduced at many places and then gradually assumed the form of the common Greek alphabet of later days, it is clear that such a complicated process, extending to many tribes and localities, would require many years. With the imperfect means of communication between tribes and peoples, it is probable that several centuries would elapse before the uniform Greek alphabet of the historic period was evolved. Thus again we are driven to the conclusion that the germs of the Semitic alphabet were planted in Greece not later than 1200 B. C.

C. EVIDENCE OF THE GREEK INSCRIPTIONS.

A comparison of the alphabet of the early Greek inscriptions with the Phœnician reveals some remarkable examples of resemblance and dissemblance. We shall see that here as in the Semitic inscriptions, the laws of development hold, and that changes in the forms of the letters are not arbitrary inventions, but the result of steady growth. The immense number and variety of Greek inscriptions furnishes the palæographer the desired material for classification, but this 'embarrassment of riches' is in one sense unfortunate, since with all the research of recent years, no absolute agreement has been reached as to the law of development or the origin of the Greek alphabet.[6] Some even go so far as to affirm that the history of the Greek alphabet is yet to be written, and that its relation to the Phœnician is still an open question.[7] This, however, is an extreme view, for it is certain that Larfeld has placed the science of Greek epigraphy on a solid basis and traced the chief periods of the history of the Greek alphabet.

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[5] Taylor holds that the epigraphic evidence favors the view that the island of Thera was the first place in Europe where the Greeks adopted the Phœnician letters *(Alphabet,* II, 29). Others contend that the Greeks received the Phœn. alphabet at different places. So E. M. Thompson: "It is not to be supposed that the Greeks received the alphabet from the Phœnicians at one single place, from whence it was passed on throughout Hellas; but rather at several points of contact from whence it was locally diffused among neighboring cities" *(Handb. Greek & Latin Palaeography, p., 5).*

Our interest in Greek inscriptions centers in their value for Greek and Semitic alphabetology. From the shape of the letters we attempt to determine by the law of historical development the probable time required for the transition from the original Greek alphabet to that exhibited on the oldest inscriptions. The conclusions thus reached will throw light on the probable date of the adoption of the Phœnician alphabet by the Greeks. For our purpose the chief inscriptions of the early and immediately succeeding periods will suffice to determine the law of change.[8]

1. *The Abu Simbel Record.*

The remarkable inscription which furnishes a definite starting-point for Greek epigraphy was not found in Greece at all, but in a remote region of Egypt, the Nubian desert. At Abu Simbel, near the second cataract of the Nile, Ramases II, carved a massive, precipitous rock into a magnificent temple, "trusting, and not in vain, that the desolate solitudes of Nubia would guard more faithfully the memories of his glory than the palaces and temples which he reared in the precincts of his great cities of Thebes, Memphis, or Abydos" (Taylor, *op. cit.).* In front of the temple are seated four colossal statues of the king, hewn from the solid sandstone, and rising each to a height of 66 feet. Travellers of all ages have exhausted the vocabulary of panegyric in describing the grandeur of the conception of carving in imperishable hieroglyphics the glories of his reign.

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[6] The extent of the material may be surmised when it is recalled that while Rose's *Inscriptiones Graecae Vetustissimae*, 1825, contains less than one hundred inscriptions, the four volume work of Boeckh has more than 10,000, and that a complete collection would comprise nearly 30,000.

[7] See A. Gercke, *Zur Geschichte d. Aelt. Griech. Alph.*, in *Hermes' Zeitsc. fuer Clas. Phil.*, 1906, who says: "Die Geschichte d. Griech. Alphab. soll noch geschrieben werden, bisher sind nur Ansaetze dazu vorhanden. Das gesammte Material d. Archae. Inschriften hat Kirchhoff vorgelegt. Man muss eingestehen dass seit den 43 Jahren d. ersten Auflage sehr wenig an neuen, fruchtbaren Gesichtspunkten hinzugekommen ist, obwohl die neueren Inschriftfuende das Material erfreulich vermehrt und im einzelnen wichtige Erkenntnisse gebracht haben; nicht einmal die von ihm vernachlaessigte Anknuepfung der Buchstabenformen an das Phœnikische Vorbild ist seitdem sorgfaeltig durchgefuehrt, und eine Geschichte der einzelnen Buchstaben noch nicht gewonnen worden".

[8] The principal authorities are: Boeckh's *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*, 1828, 1833, 1853. Franz: *Elementa epigraphices Graecae*, 1840. The fourth vol. of the Corpus was brought out by Kirchhoff in 1853. Kirchhoff's valuable *Studien zur Geschich. d. Griech. Alphabets* appeared in 1863.

The most important of the inscriptions is one in Phœnician, already considered on page 97; and one in Greek of five lines, the date of which is fixed by the mention of the reigning Egyptian king, Psammeticus. Whether this be the first of that name (as generally supposed) or the second, the date is approximately 600 B. C. The record was made by some Greek mercenaries in his service. "Two of the Greeks seem to have shared the work of engraving the great inscription, while eight Greeks, three Carians, and several Phœnicians separately scratched their names elsewhere on the knees of the Colossus" (Taylor). That soldiers from all parts of the East were able to write in their respective languages is proof that writing was one of the most common of the arts in 600 B. C. and was probably well known at a much earlier date.[9]

2. *The Thera Inscriptions.*

The island of Thera, a hundred miles to the North of Crete, has furnished a number of cardinal inscriptions illustrating the early history of the Greek alphabet. The language is Greek, but the letters are of a primitive Phœnician type, "belonging to an earlier stage of the Semitic alphabet than the Moabite Stone itself[10] (Taylor, II, 29). From the cemeteries of Mesa-Vouno and Exomiti, dating probably from the time of the Dorians, some 20 inscriptions on basalt have been obtained. In the absence of definite historical references, their date can be determined only by the laws of graphic development. Fortunately, however, they can be arranged in a chronological series extending over two or three centuries. "The latest, written from left to right in a Greek alphabet approaching the Abu Simbel type, may be assigned to the seventh century; others, still older, are boustrophedon; while four or five, written from right to left in letters of Phœnician style, may be pronounced without hesitation to be the oldest extant monuments of the alphabet of Greece" (Taylor, II, 29).[11]

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[9] The chief Abu Simbel inscriptions, the letters of which are given in our Chart, col. XXX, are invaluable as a starting-point in reasoning back to the earlier script. The letters are so deeply cut into the solid cliff and have suffered so little from the action of the elements that they are distinctly legible. In the nine longer inscriptions, the alphabet is practically uniform and the correctness of the spelling, and "the evidence of familiar habitude with the use of graphic materials, show that in the seventh cent. B. C. alphabetic writing could have been no novelty among the Greeks." In these inscriptions, the direction of the writing is no longer from right to left, as in early Greek, but from left to right. The phonetic changes are still greater. The gutturals, aleph, he, heth, ayin, and the semi-consonants waw and jod, have been transformed into the vowels, alpha, epsilon, eta, omikron, upsilon and iota, respectively. The letters, Phi, chi, psi, unknown in any Semitic alphabet have been introduced; and marked changes have taken place in the forms of the letters. The Greek and the Phœnician alphabet have therefore diverged widely from each other since the Greeks had adopted the Semitic script.

[10] Here and there a writer has challenged this statement, but recent discoveries, and the investigations of Larfeld have proved its correctness.

The Thera inscriptions cover the period of the transition from the early to the intermediate forms, and from the early mode of writing from right to left to that which finally prevailed, from left to right. They illustrate forcibly the principle that no alphabet is formed or adopted arbitrarily, but gradually and almost imperceptibly.[12] The older epitaphs are written from right to left in Semitic style; then in a somewhat cursive script around the stone, and this is succeeded by the *boustrophedon*. Then came the practice of writing from left to right. A similar development takes place in the change from the Semitic to the Greek value of some of the letters.

3. *Summary of Results from Inscriptions.*

The preceding inquiry establishes two propositions. The first is that the Phœnician alphabet was introduced into Greece at a considerably earlier date than generally supposed. All recent investigation and discovery in archæology tend to prove the correctness of Mahaffy's statement that "the first common use of writing in Greece was generally fixed at too late a date". Not only was the common use earlier, but the introduction of the Phœnician alphabet into Greece must be placed several centuries earlier than was thought possible a generation ago. The second proposition is that the comparatively perfect forms of the Phœnician letters at the date of their introduction implies several centuries of previous development. If we once rid ourselves of the false idea that the Phœnician, or Greek, or any other alphabet, dropped, Minerva-like, full-formed from heaven, we shall understand that centuries of experimentation and development were required before the few simple characters, devised, mayhap, by Phœnician-Egyptian scribes, acquired the forms and names known as Phœnician.[13]

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[11] In comparing the letters in the different columns of our Chart, some interesting facts emerge. The letters in col. XXX are mostly Phœnician, with the exception of jod, lamed, tsadhe, shin and taw. The combination of pe and heth to denote *ph* shows that the letter *phi* had not yet been invented and that heth still retained the Semitic power of a breath. In another, presumably later series of Thera inscriptions, but more archaic than the Abu Simbel, the sloping bars in alpha, epsilon and taw are clearly remainders of the Phœnician style. Another Thera inscription shows the transition stage from the older to the later forms, and the expedients adopted to express the compound letters.

[12] Herodotus states explicitly that the Greek alphabet underwent such development. See Bk. V: 58. His account is in accord with the most advanced philological Science.

Nearly all recent authorities construct an argument for the antiquity of the Greek alphabet from the history of certain letters, as digamma, zeta, san and sigma. The original Greek alphabet had in the sixth place digamma (F, v, w), a letter lacking in the Phœnician alphabet, and after taw an upsilon, u, which is clearly the Phœnician waw in form and force. Since digamma and waw were doublets, one or the other might be omitted; and so the former finally dropped out. Strangely enough, the South Semitic retained ⌽, but dropped the form for waw. See chart, XI, 6; XXIX, 6; XXX, 6, 23. Hence the Moabite alphabet could serve as prototype neither for the South Semitic nor for the original Greek; and so centuries must be assumed for the introduction of digamma, its long use and final disappearence.[14]

The history of zeta, sigma, san, koppa and of most of the vowels is involved in such doubt that a long period prior to the eighth century must be assumed for their introduction, modification and final permanence.[15]

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[13] It is certain that the introduction of the alphabet far antedates the Thera inscriptions. This is shown as follows. We know that the evolution of *eta* and *omega* required about two centuries. Five of the seven vowels had been devised prior to the Thera tablets; if, therefore, the same rate of development obtained, we must allow 3 or 4 centuries at least for the introduction and general prevalence of these vowels.

[14] That digamma was in use when the Iliad was composed (*cir.* 1000 B. C.) is seen from the laws of scansion, as e. g. in the word, *Foinos,* wine, where digamma is required to avoid hiatus. The letter had however dropped out prior to the establishment of the received text. A. Gercke, a high authority, holds that the Greek vowels were introduced about 1100-1000 B. C.: "Noch etwas hoeher hinauf wuerden wir durch eine Hypothese Larfeld's gefuert wenn sie sich als gesichert erwiese: das dekadische Zifferungssystem fuer 1—900 sei um 800 in Milet erfunden worden und setzte das vollstaendige Alphabet mit Phi, chi, psi, omega voraus und andererseits noch F und ⌽ als lebendige Laute. . . . Vielleicht darf man hierbei sogar now etwas hoeher hinauf gehen oder mindestens den Beginn des Schwundes um rund 2 Jahrhunderte aelter setzen, als Thum es tut (also *ca.* 1100 statt 900)" *(Zur Gesch. d. aelt. Griech. Al.,* in *Hermes,* 1906).

[15] "The original Semitic names appear to have become confused in the course of transmission to the Greeks and to have been applied by them to the wrong signs. The name *zeta* appears to correspond to the name *tsade,* but the letter appears to be taken from the letter *zayin.* Xi, which seems to be the same word as *shin,* represents the letter *samekh.* San, which is probably derived from *zayin,* represents *tsade.* Sigma, which may be identified with *samekh,* represents *shin.*" (E. M. Thompson, *Handb. Greek and Lat. Palaeog.).*

The proof that alphabetic writing was practised in Greece in the Homeric period is overwhelming. Three lines of argument, namely the evidence of the inscriptions, the laws of development of the letters and the state of writing in the Homeric age, all converge to the same point, that is, that the Phœnician alphabet must have entered Greece anywhere between 1200 and 1000. If, further, allowance be made for the development of the Semitic or Phœnician characters from their earliest prototypes to the finished forms of the Moabite Stone, the conclusion is inevitable that the Semitic script was devised about 1500 B. C., and possibly somewhat earlier.

CHAPTER IX.

PROVISIONAL THEORY OF THE ORIGIN OF THE SEMITIC (PHOENICIAN) ALPHABET.

Of the above theories of the origin of the Phœnician alphabet (chap VI), some drop out of consideration. That the Cretan, Cypriote and Mycenæan syllabaries originated in the beginning of the second pre-Christian millennium is clear, but they probably had no direct influence on the Phœnician (or more correctly) Semitic alphabet. The same is true of the Hittite script; the non-discovery of the key to the language and script leaves slender support for this view. In the consideration of the subject we distinguish sharply between two questions: *first,* the elements underlying and suggesting the alphabet; and, *second,* the people who really invented and introduced the alphabet. The question is not, From whom did the inventors get their material and working hypothesis, but *who* were the inventors? Thus understood, the question is narrowed to the Aramæans, Babylonians and Phœnicians. Much can be said in favor of the Aramaic origin (see McCurdy above). From the time of Laban (Gen. 31: 47) to that of Hezekiah (Is. 36: 11), and later, one or another of the Aramaic dialects was a kind of *lingua franca* in the lands between the Tigris and Euphrates. Nevertheless it would appear that the Aramæans came upon the stage of history too late to meet the conditions of the problem.

A. DELITZSCH'S THEORY OF THE BABYLONIAN ORIGIN.

A new turn has been given to the Babylonian theory by Friedrich Delitzsch.[1] He modestly claims that his *"Enthraetselung"* of the origin of the cuneiform script has thrown new light "auf das andere grosse palæographische Raethsel des Ursprungs des Phœnizischen Alphabets" (*op cit.,* p., 221). That the Phœnician script sustains some relation to the Babylonian is probable, says D., "for all attempts to derive the Phœnician characters from the Egyptian hieratic or hieroglyphic have ended in a complete fiasco; and yet the Phœnician script cannot be an absolutely new one. It arose in Canaan, *i. e.,* in a land which on the one hand stood for centuries in the closest political and cultural relations with Egypt; and in which on the other, just previously, as the Amarna Letters show, the Babylonian script was the medium of diplomatic correspondence. Nothing is *a priori* more probable than that the Phœnician or Canaanite alphabet sustains a connection of some sort with the two oldest systems of writing". D. holds that the Canaanitish script-makers adopted from the Egyptians "the great principle of acrophony" and from the Babylonians the principle of expressing objects and ideas by simple graphic figures. He considers it highly significant that fifteen of the twenty-two Phœnician letters represent objects which find expression in the Babylonian script. These are the signs for ox *(aleph),* house *(beth),* hump of camel *(gimel),* door *(daleth),* hook *(waw),* fence *(heth),* hand *(yodh),* palm of hand *(kaph),* water *(mem),* fish *(nun),* eye *(ayin),* mouth *(pe),* fish-net *(tsadhe),* head *(resh),* mark or cross *(tau).* He argues, further, that the names of the letters are for the most part of Babylonian origin.

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[1] *Die Entstehung des Aeltesten Schriftsystems, oder der Ursprung der Keilschriftzeichen.* Dargelegt von Friedr. Delitzsch. Leipzig. 1897.

According to D., the Phœnician forms of the letters might easily have been differentiated from the Babylonian characters. He regards it as significant "that both the Bab. and the Phœn. script distinguish between a hand with fore-arm *(yodh)* and a hand simply *(kaph)",* which implies some connection and influence. He adds: "It is universally admitted that the Phœn. *aleph* resembles in rough outline an ox-head. It is not likely that the Phœnicians independently of the Babylonians hit upon the idea of representing an ox by the sign of an ox-head". Delitzsch accordingly occupies a middle position between the rival theories of an Egyptian and a Babylonian incentive, granting that the inventor (s) had a knowledge of both systems and chose from each whatever was available. Herein he is sustained by other recent investigators. Zimmern says: "I believe at all events with Del. that in this case an external historical connection exists in the selection of letter-objects between the Phœnician alphabet and the order of the original Babylonian signs". Fries (who inclines to the Mycenæan hypothesis) writes: "I consider it quite probable that the Phœn.-Canaanite-Hebrews gave to the Mycenæan characters, names suggested by the original cuneiform signs, which on the one hand were familiar through centuries of use and on the other met Phœnician conditions. On this hypothesis, the views of Kluge, Delitzsch and Zimmern are reconciled" (*Zeitsch. d. Deut. Palaes. Ver.,* XXII).

B. THE NAMES AND FORMS OF THE PHOENICIAN LETTERS.

1. *The Problem of the Letter-Names.*

What is the connection between the names of the letters and the concepts denoted by them? Had the letters *aleph* and the rest, originally a form corresponding to the pictures of the objects, or did the words merely happen to have the initial sound of the letters, and were the latter mere *Voces memoriales?* In the latter event no inference can be drawn; in the former, it is possible to construct an argument regarding the origin of the letters.[2] If the transmitted names represented accurately the original orthography, one could reason back to the probable origin of the characters. But allowance must be made for changes in the transmission. "Die ueberlieferten konsonantischen Bestandteile sind nicht so, wie sie etwa der Erfinder geschrieben hat, sondern die Formen enthalten phonetische Wiedergaben der Namen aus einer Zeit, als diese nach langem Gebrauche zum Teil abgerieben und infolge des mangelhaften Verstaendnisses ihrer Bedeutung verstuemmelt worden waren" (Lidz. *op. cit.,* 126). Nevertheless "the pictures of the characters in the oldest texts do not vary essentially from the original" *(ibid)*. If the form and significance of the proto-types could be determined, new light would be thrown on the origin of the alphabet. It is possible that the letter-names were chosen without reference to the pictures of the objects; but yet "the more a connection between picture and name is established the more probable it becomes that the connection is not accidental, but designed, *i. e,* the picture actually represented the idea which the name designates" (Lidz.). So too Gesenius *Heb. Gram.* (latest ed.). The majority of the letters have well defined meanings; but the etymology and signification of nine or ten letters are doubtful, and even the language from which some of them were derived is in dispute. The possibility, therefore, exists that the inventors drew on sources other than Egyptian and Babylonian. We discuss merely the disputed letters.

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[2] Noeldeke, Delitzsch, Lidzbarski, Zimmern, Halèvy, Ball and Peters have recently discussed the subject. See Noeldeke: *Die Semitischen Buchstabennamen;* and Lidzbarski, *Die Namen d. Alphabetbuchstaben (Ephem.* II, 125-39).

2. *Meaning of the Disputed Letters.*[3-a]

He, a window, traditional view (Hupfeld, Boettcher, Gesenius, Koenig, etc.). C. J. Ball: from archaic Babylonian *he,* a house. J. P. Peters: a meaningless sound, but no letter-name. Lidzb.: "Die N. Semitischen Sprachen weisen kein passendes mit *he* beginnendes Wort dafuer auf" (*Ephem.*, II, 136).

Waw, a hook, (Taylor, Green, Gesenius, Delitzsch Fried., etc.). Ball: archaic Bab. *wu,* wood, or *we,* voice. Peters: not a word originally, but the sound of *u* or *v.* Del.: "Von den kananäischen Schriftbildern selbststaendig ersonnen" (*Entsteh.* 229).

Zayin, a weapon (so traditionally). Peters: not a word, but a syllable *ze* or *zai.* Lidzb.: "Das Griechische Zeta scheint mir fuer das Zeichen besser zu passen als *zayin.* Denn als Waffe laesst sich das Bild (vid. our Chart, VII, 7) nicht erklaeren, wohl aber kann man es als Olivenzweig auffassen" (*op. cit.,* 132).

Heth, a fence (traditional view). Del.: *Chetu,* from the Bab. a wall or enclosure. Ball: Archaic Bab. *hyt,* stylus. Peters: no such word in Hebrew or Aramaic, perhaps merely a syllable. Lidzb.: "Auch fuer *cheth* wurde bis jetzt keine einwandtsfreie Erklaerung gegeben. . . *Chetu* ist nur babylonisch und an einen babylonischen Ursprung des Alphabets ist nicht zu denken" (*op. cit.*, p., 138). But may not a Phœnician, conversant with the Babylonian, have chosen letter-names from this quarter?

Teth, snake, serpent (old view). Ball: From archaic Babylonian. Peters: not a word in any known language. Lidzb.: "Ich sehe in diesem Bilde (chart IX, 7) einen Ballen, ein Kolli, und im Namen *teth* ein Phœnizisches *teeth,* vom Stamme *t'an (op. cit.,* 128*)*.

Lamedh, ox-goad (old view). Ball: from Bab. *lam,* to plant, plough. The archaic Phœnician form clearly resembles an ox-goad; but the Hebrew for this would be *malmad* of *malmed,* not lamed. According to Lidzb. the *m* of *malmed* was elided "trotz der akrophonischen Tendenz", and the stem beginning with l, chosen.

Samekh, post or prop (traditional view). But this does not correspond with the archaic form of the letter (chart, XV, 7) Ball:

[3-a] See C. J. Ball in *Light from the East* and J. P. Peters in review of second edition of Taylor's Alphabet, *Jour. Am. Orient. Soc.* XXII, p., 176 seq.

archaic Bab. *Sam,* herbage. Lidzb.: "Ich fasse das Bild als Baum oder Zweig auf".

Tsadhe, fish-hook, or javelin (common view). The meanings, fish-hook, scythe, nose, rest on comparatively late inscriptions. Starting with the form on the Moabite Stone, Lidzb. sees "in diesem Zeichen eine Treppe und (ich) leite den Namen vom Stamm *tsa'adh* ab".

Koph, back of head, knot, ear, eye of needle etc. Peters: Not a word in any language. Latest view of Lidzb.: "Ich erklaere nun den Namen als *quob'a,* Helm, Kopf, was phœnizisch etwa *qob'* gesprochen wurde" (*op. cit.,* 133). Since *beth* sometimes became *koph,* it is possible that the Phœnicians already wrote *koph* instead of *kob.*

Resh, head (usual view). But in Phœn. and Heb., head is *rosh,* in Amarna Letters *rush,* in Greek *rho.* The difference, though slight, is still unexplained. Lidzb. suggests that the name underwent change in the transmission and finally took the Aramaic form, — the most probable view.

3. *Theories of the Origin of the Letter-Names and Forms.*

As seen above, Delitzsch derives 15 of the letters and forms directly from the Babylonian, including some of the disputed letters. The original Bab. sign for *gimel,* says D., meant to *bend* or *bow* (Sum. *gam, gammu),* and was employed as an ideogram for the hump of a camel (Chart I, 3), just as the Bab. sign *tab, taw,* (Chart, I, 22; XII, 22) corresponds to the Phœnician *Taw.*

Both Lidzbarski and Halèvy challenge some of Delitzsch's claims. The former remarks that the Egyptian script also distinguishes between "the hand with forearm" and "the palm of the hand"; the sign of an ox occurs in the Cretan script, and it resembles somewhat the Phœnician; and the earliest form of gimel is probably the first of the three given in our Chart (col. I, 3). That the archaic Phœnician form of *nun* sustains any resemblance to a fish is denied by Lidzb.; the fish has always been represented, not by a perpendicular, but by a horizontal figure, as in the Egyptian. It were more correct to see in the Phœnician the figure of a serpent, as in the Egyptian. Lidzb. questions that the archaic Phœn. character for *daleth* resembles even remotely a door; but his own suggestion that it denotes "nur die weibliche Brust, also *dad*", is equally remote.

Halèvy ridicules and belittles Delitzsch's hypothesis at every point: "En somme, l'alphabet phénicien comprendrait deux lettres égyptiennes, six lettres babyloniennes, et le reste serait indigène ou d'une origine inconnue. Une écriture si éclectique au deuxième millénaire avant notre ère n'est pas bien vraisemblable." *(L'Origine des Ecritures cuneiforme et Phénicienne,* p., 4). Under this view, says H., the alphabet would be "un mélange de signes égyptiens et cunéiformes linéaires. Les Phéniciens auraient emprunté aux hiéroglyphes les signes du lion *(laboi)* pour *l,* le signe *tot* pour *t,* et le grand principe de l'acrologie, tandis qu'ils apprirent des scribes a produire comme expressions graphiques des figures simples plutôt indiquées que formées et à lignes aussi droites que possible" (p., 2). Halèvy concludes that "Dans une nouvelle édition, ce vilain chapitre [sic!] doit disparaître a tout jamais" (p., 19).

Attention must be directed to another hypothesis of the Babylonian origin of the letter-names, advanced by C. J. Ball and designated here as the "Semitized Sumerian". "The monosyllabic form of almost all the names agrees with our theory that they are partially Semitized (imperfectly triliteralized) Sumerian terms" *(Light from the East, 236)*. Ball claims that his theory "retains and accounts for the names of the letters". See assumed proto-types (Chart, col. I). Thus *bet* Phœn. (XII, 2) is sufficiently like I, 2, *ba, bi,* to split, (Sumerian *bad, bid*) to suggest a connection. "The difference of shape between the Bab. sign and the Phœn. is merely a variation for convenience of writing. The latter may be called a one-stroke adaptation of the former. As to the name *beth,* b—t is the common Semitic term for house. The original sound of the symbol becomes its name in the Phœn. alphabet; the original meaning is naturally exchanged for a familiar Semitic one". By reference to the chart one can see the supposed evolution of the Phœn. forms from the Archaic Bab. (cols II, III, etc.). But, assuming that an alphabet-maker in the 15th cent. B. C., wished to select from other scripts it seems almost self-evident that he would select from familiar, *i. e.* contemporaneous, rather than from unfamiliar archaic forms. Under this view the same objection lies against Ball's view as against any other based on archaic forms.

We find ourselves, however, in accord with a suggestion offered by Ball, namely that now one and now another word was used acrophonically until the alphabet assumed its present stereotyped form. "For an indefinite period the various related Bab. symbols were used indifferently as alphabetic representatives. . . This would be the first step; and it seems to account for the varying forms of the Phœn. signs, which need not all be deduced from a single ancestor, but may preserve traces of several. One locality, even one individual scribe, might prefer one form of a letter, another another, until at last by the intercourse of commerce and diplomacy a form would result exhibiting a likeness to all, but not exactly identical with any of the proto types" (*op. cit.*, p., 237).

The principle here suggested by Ball is an important one and supports our contention that the alphabet was in process of formation for many centuries.

Finally, "Twelve of the letter-names are words with meanings, all of them indicating simple objects, 6 of the 12 being parts of the body. The objects denoted by the other six names — ox, house, door, water, fish and cross — clearly do not belong to any people in a nomadic state, but in a settled, town-abiding population. Of these 12 significant words, 11 are words which may be found almost in the same form in the Bab. syllabaries. . . . This suggests a Bab. origin, and it would seem probable that the forms of the letters were derived from the same source as the names" (J. P. Peters, *op. cit.*). On the other hand "no syllabary with which we are acquainted seems to give us satisfactory proto-types for the Phœn. alphabet, either in the forms of the letters, or their names" (Peters). The fact that the meaning of at least eight letter-names cannot be determined (six of them words in no language) implies that the names and perhaps the characters originated in a period so remote that history preserves no record.

C. THE ASTRO-MYTHOLOGICAL HYPOTHESIS.

Recently, Hommel and Winckler, contemporaneously, yet independently, have suggested the hypothesis that the starry heavens, the signs of the zodiac, gave rise to the characters of the original alphabet. Though differing in detail, both contend that the names and order of the letters are of astronomical origin. This primitive, pre-Phœnician script arose among a non-Semitic people, the Sumerians, as early as 2000 B. C. and spread in two great branches, the Phœnician and the Arabian, over the whole West-Semitic world. In order to understand Hommel's present views it must be recalled that he divides the Semitic peoples, languages and religion into "Babylonian and West-Semitic". Having presented the reasons for this classification, he argues that the alphabet likewise furnishes proofs of the same view: "One may designate these as astrological proofs, since here not merely the culture of the Moon-god and that of the Sun and certain planets (Saturn, Mercury, Venus), but the whole astrological system of the Chaldeans forms the basis. . . . . This alphabet, from which also the South-Arabic branched off, arose in the regions whence the Canaanites originally came, *i. e.* Chaldea. . . . . On phonetic grounds, the Egyptian origin is simply impossible; nor could the inventors have been Semites, for the underlying body of sounds is far too poor".[3]

Hommel then arranges the Phœn. letters in two columns (the dividing line being between kaph and lamed) and proceeds: "*Heth* was differentiated from *he, teth* from *ayin* (originally a circle, O), das tsadhe aus samekh, und endlich das Quoph (Lat. *q*) aus dem ayin, indem durch den das ayin bezeichnenden Kreis einfach ein senkrechter Strich gezogen wurde. The proofs for the origin in Chaldea, lie in the quite evident derivation of different signs of the alphabet in question from the old Babylonian, *i e.,* Sumarian cuneiform and in fact under circumstances excluding chance. Thus *e. g.* an oval in the cuneiform has the syllabic value *hi* (which was used also in loan-words for West-Semitic ayin) and *ti* (Sum. *di*), and in the West-Sem. alphabet the circle denotes ayin and teth (and by differentiation also taw). Ja es gibt in dem *ca.* 2000 v. Chr. (in der Hammurabizeit) ueblichen Silbenzeichensystem Faelle, wo geradezu ein Uebergang zu Buchstabenzeichen vorliegt, wie z. B. beim Hauchlaut *ch* oder *Aleph,* wo fuer *ach, ich, uch,* ein einziges Zeichen in Gebrauch ist, und dieses Zeichen besteht wiederum aus dem ovalen Kreis, dem sonst der Werth *chi* eignet, nur dass hier ein Zeichen eingeschrieben wird, das mit dem West-Semitischen Zeichen fuer *h* nahezu identisch ist; oder das Zeichen *pi,* welches gerade um 2000 v. Chr. auch zur Wiedergabe eines einfachen *w* (im Anlaut *j*) verwendet wird und woraus sowohl das West-Semitische Zeichen fuer *w* als auch das fuer *j* entstanden ist. It may yet be observed that in general in all cases where no vowel follows a consonant, the cuneiform in fact represents a transition to simple alphabetic signs, as, *e. g.* in the syllabic signs, *ab, ib, ub, ag, ig, ug,* etc., since a word written *ka-al-bu, but* pronounced *kalbu* could be transcribed simply *ka-l-bu.* In this direction we must look for the derivation of the remaining signs: thus the West-Semitic sign for *k* clearly came from the old Bab. sign *ig*; likewise *p* from *ib* (which latter could also denote an open mouth, *cf. pe,* mouth)" (Grundr., p., 98-9).

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[3] Hommel, *Grundr. d. Geographie u. Geschich. d. Alten Orients,* p., 97. See also H's. *Gesch. Bab. u. Assy.,* pp., 50—3, and *Aufs. u. Abh.*

D. SEMITES AND SEMITISM IN EGYPT.

Neither Delitzsch, Hommel, Ball, nor any Semitist or Panbabylonist (Winckler) holds that the Sumerians or Babylonians actually devised the Phœn. alphabet, but merely that the underlying elements are Sumerian or Babylonian, and not Egyptian. The theory that the alphabet was suggested by the Egyptian hieratic is unpopular to-day in Semitic circles; nevertheless it demands consideration. The fact that there was constant communication between Egypt and Palestine between 2500 and 1400 B. C. (see above, ch. IV) and that Egypt was in fact Semitized, is admitted by all Egyptologists. During the waning power of the Pharaohs of the 13th and 14th dynasties, Egypt became an easy prey for the ever watchful neighbors on the N. East. "The Syrians and the people belonging to the nomad tribes of the desert had been quietly settling in the Delta for centuries, and had been making themselves owners of the lands and estates. For some reason which is unknown to us the immigration of the foreigners from the East increased largely, and their kinsmen (who were already in the country) making common cause with them, they seized the land and set up a king over them" (Budge, *Hist. Egypt,* III, 132). Again the Pharaohs at an early date invaded Palestine and Syria. Thus there was constant intercourse between these lands.

1. *The Hyksos in Egypt.*

Josephus, quoting from Manetho, speaks of a people called "Hyksos" who ruled in Egypt during three dynasties. It is certain that foreigners sat on the throne of the Pharaohs' during several centuries. Breasted concludes that "the Hyksos were an Asiatic people who ruled Egypt from their stronghold of Avaris in the Delta" (*Hist. Egypt*, p., 216). It is generally allowed that the Hyksos were Semites. "That it was a Semitic empire we cannot doubt, in view of the Manethonian tradition and the subsequent conditions in Syria-Palestine. Moreover the scarabs of a Pharaoh who evidently belonged to the Hyksos time, give his name as Jacob-her or possibly Jacob-El, and it is not impossible that some chief of the Jacob-tribes of Israel for a time gained the leadership in this obscure age. Such an incident would account surprisingly well for the entrance of these tribes into Egypt, which on any hypothesis must have taken place about this age; and in that case the Hebrews in Egypt will have been but a part of the Beduin allies of the Kadesh or Hyksos empire. . . . . Likewise the naive assumption of Josephus, who identifies the Hyksos with the Hebrews, may thus contain a kernel of truth, however incidental" (Breasted, *op. cit.,* 220).

The duration of the Hyksos supremacy is undetermined, Breasted allowing about 200 years, Petrie 500.

2. *Egyptian Language Semitized.*

The settlement of so many Semitic people in the Nile Valley had inevitably a twofold effect: *first,* the Semites learned the Egyptian language and script; *second,* each language, adopting loan-words from the other, was greatly enriched in its vocabulary. Brugsch writes: "The memorial stones, coffins, and papyri found in the cemeteries all testify to Semites who were settled in the Nile valley . . . as also do they show the inclination of the people to give their children half Semitic and half Egyptian names . . . . . The commercial interest contributed to introduce into Egypt foreign expressions, as may be shown by *sus* for horse, *agalota* for chariot, *camal* for camel and *abir,* bull; also *rosh,* head, *sar,* king, *beit,* house, *bab,* door, *bir,* spring, *birkata,* lake, *ketem,* gold, *shalom,* to greet, *rom,* to be high, *barak,* to bless, and many others" (p., 98.) Many Egyptian names of places are clearly Hebrew or Semitic. Thus Ta-Mazor is the Hebrew Mizraim; Thuku is Succoth; Pa-Tmu, the city of Tmu, is the Biblical Pithom. Maktol is the Hebrew Migdol, a fortress.

It was in this period (2000-1500) that the need arose for a simplified alphabet such as the Phœnician for the transcription of Egyptian and Semitic proper names and for writing the Canaanite and Hebrew language.

E. CANAANITE OR PHOENICIAN ORIGIN OF THE ALPHABET.

The Phœnician alphabet arose in the time of the Hyksos rule in Egypt, and the question arises whether some Hebrew, Canaanite or Phœnician was not the inventor adapter.

1. *The Phoenicians in History.*

The ancestors of the Phœnicians were probably a part of the great Amorite or Canaanite stock which in the third millennium B. C. migrated from the East to the West-land. "That this migration was before the third millennium may be argued from the Phœnician tradition preserved by Herodotus that the founding of the temple and city of Tyre took place about 2750 B. C. . . . That the settlement was much earlier than this is probable" (Goodspeed, *Bib World,* VII, p., 463).

The Phœnicians had commercial relations with foreign peoples from very early times. "It is no exaggeration to place the beginnings of these commercial enterprises in the year 2000 B. C. Creeping around the coast of Asia Minor or striking boldly across to Cyprus and thence to the Aegean, their ships landed at all points where the country was attractive and opportunities for trade were given. Thasos with its gold mines and Cythera with its mussels that yielded the famous purple dye were early places of Phœnician settlement in the Aegean sea. In such places they established trading posts or set up factories, where the products of the region were most easily accessible. They exchanged for these the more finished products of the Orient, the manufactures of Babylonia and Egypt" (Goodspeed, *op cit.,* p., 465).

2. *Relations with Egypt in Early Times.*

The relations of Egyptians and Phœnicians were varied and extensive. "The earliest maritime commerce of the Phœnicians was probably with Cyprus, Cilicia and Egypt. . . . Their vessels laid themselves alongside the wharves which lined the banks of the great river at Pelusium, Bubastis, Zoan, Memphis, Sais, Sebennytus. At Memphis they were allowed to make a settlement. Jealous as the Egyptians were of foreigners, and disposed as they were to exclude them altogether from their country, they were so won upon by the Phœnicians as not merely to carry on with them an extensive trade, but even to allow them a settlement in the capital, and a temple in which they could worship their own gods" (Rawlinson, *Story of Phoe.*, pp., 56. 26).

3. *Bearing on Phoenician Origin of Alphabet.*

What is the bearing of all this on the origin of the alphabet? Two conditions that must be met are fulfilled: *first,* the Phœnicians had absolute need of some script, and the shorter the better, to carry on their business transactions, which required the listing of many varied articles; and *second,* the commercial class must be supposed to have acquired a fair knowledge of the Egyptian language and script. This conjunction of circumstances would inspire a quick-witted scribe, who had to meet the exigencies of a bilingual script to devise a new script by the selection of the best elements in the old ones. It is established from the *Papyrus Ebers* that already in the 16th century Canaanite towns, as Sidon, Gebal, Berytus, Sarepta, stood in close cultural relation with Egypt. Byblos is often referred to in the Egyptian texts; and its antiquity is attested by the classical writers who call it the oldest city in the world. (See Movers, *Phoeniker,* III, 1; Birt, *Das Antike Buchwesen,* 2: 47; Krall, *Studien z. Gesch. Alten Aegyp.*, 78). In fact it is probable that Greece obtained its papyrus originally, not from Egypt, but from Byblos, since it seems now made out that the older name of the writing material was *Byblos,* whence ultimately the word Bible (book). Theophrastus was the first to use the term papyrus instead of Byblos.

It is thus an established historical fact that Sidon, Tyre, Byblos, Berytus and other Canaanite or Phœnician centers were seats of high culture from very early times to 1200 B. C., and that all the conditions were present for the formation of the Semitic (Phœnician) alphabet. Neither in Babylonia nor in Arabia nor elsewhere was there a similar conjunction of circumstances rendering such a script as the Phœnician a necessity.

That the inventor of the alphabet drew largely on the Egyptian script is evident from many considerations, as held by both Lidzbarski and Delitzsch. The former says: "The Phœn. alphabet is consonantal, the cuneiform script is syllabic; the alphabetic characters are pictures, the cuneiform are no longer such; the alphabet is acrophonic, the cuneiform is not. On the other hand the Egyptian script is acrophonic, consonantal and pictorial. Only one conclusion is open to us. Hence I see in the alphabet a dependence on the Egyptian script and the creation of a Canaanite who had some knowledge of the Egyptian system" (*Ephem.* I, 134). Delitzsch also allows that the distinctively Canaanite forms of some of the letters is an indication that the alphabet was of Western origin.

4. *Influence of the Egyptian Hieratic.*

An inscription which tends to confirm the de Rougé hypothesis of Egyptian influence has lately come to light. It is described by the Rev. Dr. M. G. Kyle, a well-known Egyptologist of Philadelphia, in the *Recuil de Travaux,* from which we quote. In the Ghiza Museum stands a wooden coffin, labeled: "Cercueil d'un Mentou-hotep surmommé Bouaou, trésorier royal. A l'intérieur, figures et textes mervielleusement conservès. Deir el-Bahari, XIéme dynastie". Dr. K. reproduces in parallel columns the Hieroglyps, the Hieratic of the Old Empire, the alphabetic characters of the Coffin and the corresponding Phœn. letters. We reproduce in our Chart, col. VI, the Coffin characters and refer to the other cols. for comparison. "The inscription as a whole is a curious mixture of hieroglyphics, conventional forms and hieratic characters. Moreover, some of the signs used are represented sometimes, and others almost invariably, by their hieratic equivalents; but not all the signs which occur are represented anywhere in the inscription by hieratic equivalents. And the hieratic characters used are sometimes distinctly of the fixed forms of the hieratic of the Old Empire, and sometimes a transitional approach thereto. Concerning these hieratic signs of the inscription, five strange things are to be noted: (1) There are clearly transitional forms, representing a transitional period of Egyptian writing; (2) Among the hieratic characters of this inscription, exactly those in which E. de Rougé believed he had found the Egyptian prototypes of the Phœn. alphabet are most conspicuous; (3) Among the hieratic characters representing the simplest sounds and commonly called letters, it is just those of de Rougé's list which here appear most regularly, where the Egyptian sound represented thereby was required; (4) These same are also most fixed in their forms, and those the final forms of the hieratic of the Old Empire; (5) The list of hieratic alphabetic characters here found falls short of de Rougé's complete list by some significant omissions."

Dr. K. summarizes his extended comparison: "Of the 21 alphabetic prototypes which de Rougé selected from the Egyptian hieratic of the Old Empire thirteen are here found in the fully developed and final hieratic forms. Two others, the *lioness* and the *mouth* are found in transitional forms. Two, the *tongs* and the *knee* are uncertain; and four, the *crane*, the *duck*, the *owl* and the *lasso* are not found. In the work of identification, the two certainly transitional forms, the *lioness* and the *mouth* may be added to the thirteen which are fully developed, making in all fifteen identifications. Of the four not found, and the two not certainly identified, the inscription employs the crane and the owl regularly in the hieroglyphic forms, though sometimes slightly conventional, and the duck as a letter, is of comparatively infrequent occurrence in the inscription. Moreover, the tongs and the lasso, the knee, the crane and the owl, being in their hieroglyphic forms or with some abbreviation well adapted to cursive writing, would naturally, from the very ease with which they were made, be among the last for which fixed hieratic forms would be developed".

It must be allowed that the resemblance between some of the Coffin and the Phœn. characters is sufficiently close to warrant the inference that the alphabet-makers had before them, if not these characters, then their more fully developed types. "Since this inscription represents a period when just these identified letters and not others were commonly used, as their fixed hieratic forms evidence, it is very near this period that the Phœnicians must have chosen the Egyptian characters from which in time their alphabet was developed. . . . . That the Phœnicians should have chosen of these same alphabetic characters at a later period when there were many alternative characters from which to choose, would not be an unreasonable supposition, but that in such circumstances they should have chosen all these, and just these is, on the doctrine of probabilities, well nigh impossible".

A few observations may be made here: (1) None of the assumed Sumerian or Babylonian prototypes exhibited on our chart or yet suggested, approach so uniformly the Moabite characters, as those of the Coffin inscription — a presumptive proof that some type of the Egyptian hieratic was the basis of the Proto-Phœnician; (2) According to the principles of the alphabetology and the available epigraphic data, the Phœnician alphabet was a slow growth (like every other alphabet) from provisional and tentative forms (here called the Proto-Phœnician) until it reached something like permanence *circa* 1500 B C., being regarded in its early history as a *Scriptura privata et profana,* and encountering the opposition of the securely intrenched cuneiform, regarded as a *Scriptura publica et sacra;* (3) The prototypes of the Phœnician (as Hommel, Weber, Ball and Delitzsch have shown) go back undoubtedly to 2000 B. C., but only in the intercourse between Egyptians and Canaanites (Phœnicians) do we find an adequate *Motif* for the invention of such a script as the Phœnician (see further pp. 150—3); (4) Though the Coffin inscription is probably of earlier date than that in which we place the origin of the alphabet, all the conditions would be met on the assumption of a long use of the transitional hieratic forms.

5. *The Abridged Egyptian Syllabary.*

Already in an early period, the Egyptians, who for centuries had dealings with Semites at home and abroad, selected some thirty out of the six hundred characters of their script and employed them in the transcription of Semitic words. This well-ascertained datum is the point of departure and in truth the key to the whole situation. We find nothing to match if from the Babylonian and Aramaic sides. Years ago it was shown by Bondi[4] that Phœnician and Hebrew loan-words were accurately reproduced by this syllabary in hieroglyphic and hieratic texts. The prime error of de Rougé's theory lay in the attempt to derive the Phœnician alphabet from the hieratic script pure and simple. Since, however, the alphabet under any theory of its origin was intended to serve the rough and ready purposes of practical life, as in the keeping of accounts and the transaction of ordinary business, both Egyptians and Phœnicians would resort to this transcription Alphabet. That such was actually the case is known from Egyptian papyri. Thus the Papyrus Anastasi (time of Meremptah II) reproduces in this way a series of Semitic words. This abbreviated alphabet employed by Egyptian scribes in the reproduction of Phœnician words was naturally preferred on account of its brevity and simplicity by Phœnician merchants, rather than the hieratic or the cuneiform.

6. *Phoenicians Drew from All Quarters.*

As seen above, the Phonicians having entered upon their maritime expeditions in the Mediterranean probably became acquainted with the Cretan script. Whether or not they received hints from this source is unknown, but it is a surprising fact that some potsherds unearthed at Tell-el-Hesy in Palestine and assigned to the year 1450 B. C. have characters bearing a striking resemblance to some half dozen of the Aegean forms. Add to this the fact that some eight of the Phœnician letters have no intelligible meaning in any known language, and it would seem plausible that the Phœnicians may have drawn also from this quarter.

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[4] In *"Dem hebraeisch-phoenizischen Sprachzweige angehoerige Lehnwoerter in hieroglyphischen und hieratischen Texten."*

Whether now the Phœnician alphabet in its essentials was devised in Egypt (Memphis, or some other Egyptian-Phœnician quarter), or in Phœnicia (Sidon?) on the basis of elements derived from many sources, is unknown. In any case we seem warranted in supposing that some gifted and educated scribe, versed in the Egyptian hieratic, the Egyptian Abbreviated alphabet and the cuneiform, and seeking some short-cut and feasible scheme of writing the Phœnician, simply adopted the well-understood Egyptian principle of acrophony and by the aid of the transcription alphabet devised the characters of the original Phœnician alphabet. But the alphabet in the form exhibited in the earliest extant inscriptions is the result of a long process of development. Time would be required both to determine the number and to test the adequacy of the new letters, as well as to effect their introduction. The common Grafian assumption (shared by men who have not looked closely into the matter) that the Phœnician alphabet was invented and forthwith introduced only a few centuries before the Moabite Stone, is without a semblance of epigraphic or comparative proof, and contravenes all the known facts of the formation of alphabets and the immense period required for their spread and introduction (especially in ancient times, characterized by extreme conservativism). The experimentation of the Greeks in adapting the new script to their own language, and the very nature of the process, render it probable that a half dozen centuries would elapse before the alphabet reached the stage exhibited on the Moabite Stone.[5]

The Phœnicians proceeded from first to last on the eclectic plan, adopting from the Egyptian, Babylonian and other sources whatever seemed suitable. As seen above, the letter-names are in general Phœnician or at least Semitic. Such an eclectic course has in fact been pursued in devising other alphabets ancient and modern, as the Armenian alphabet of Mesrop (fourth century A. D.) and the Gothic of Ulfilas. These are artificial alphabets composed of letters from distinct scripts. The same is true of the Mongolian alphabet which has elements from three scripts. The Iranian alphabets also furnish proof of the composite character of ancient alphabets. Some of the alphabets in use in Persia, though containing ancient Aramaic elements, are demonstrably composite. A more direct proof is furnished by the Coptic script employed by Christian Egyptians. Instead of selecting from the great variety of Demotic signs, they wrote the Egyptian language in Greek letters, omitting or adding at pleasure.

In the light of all this we are quite prepared to understand that the Phœnicians naturally appropriated whatever material lay in their path.

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[5] Nach dem Gesagten wuerde die Entstehung der Phœnizischen Schrift nicht als das Werk eines findigen Kopfes, der an der Stelle complicirter Schriftsysteme ein einfaches setzte anzunehmen sein, sondern als das Ergebniss eines langsam und natuerlich entwickelnden Processes" (Krall, *op. cit.*, S. 18).

7. *Direction of Writing.*

Another decisive point in favor of Egyptian influence relates to the direction of the writing. The cuneiform, which in early times was arranged in perpendicular columns, came to be written in horizontal lines from left to right. If now the inventor or inventors had followed Babylonian precedent they would have written the alphabet in the same way. On the other hand the hieratic was at the time in question written from right to left.[6] Prof. W. Max Mueller says: "All cursive writing runs from right to left (like Hebrew etc.); hieroglyphics in both directions, though never boustrophodon" (*En. Bib.*, 1214). From the fact that early Greek and some North Semitic inscriptions run *boustropheden,* it has been suggested that such was also the practice in the original Phœnician. But the suggestion is without the shadow of proof. Even in the boustrophedon inscriptions, the first line always runs from right to left. The fact, therefore, that the Semitic (Phœnician) alphabet is written from right to left just as the hieratic is a proof, not easily set aside, of direct Egyptian influence at this point.

8. *Non-Adoption of Phoenician Script by Babylonians and Assyrians.*

A fatal objection to the Babylonian origin is the fact that for centuries after the invention of the Phœnician characters, the cuneiform was retained in Babylonia and Assyria. It may of course be alleged that the well known conservatism of the East and the hesitancy to adopt new methods, even when superior to the old, will account for this delay. But the delay was of too long duration to suit the conditions here. If the new script had arisen among the Babylonians they would have been the first to introduce it; but there appears, so far as we know, to have been no effort by the Babylonian scribes to introduce it even alongside of the old and complicated cuneiform.[7] To be sure the Aramaic script was at a later date used in contract-tablets side by side with the cuneiform; but the manner of its use would imply that it was a foreign importation. Not only so, but among the thousands of Babylonian and Assyrian inscriptions (pertaining to all kinds of subjects) are none in a transition alphabet from the cuneiform to the Phœnician. Therefore we are driven to the conclusion that the old view of a Phœnician origin on the basis of Egyptian elements and prototypes, is still in possession of the field and, while not accounting for all the facts, meets a greater number of the conditions of the problem than any other theory thus far advanced.

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[6] "Diese Schreibrichtung von rechts nach links ist in der hieratischen Schrift die Regel. Die Hieroglyphentexte gehen von rechts nach links oder umgekehrt, bald in wagrechten, bald in senkrechten Columnen. Der hieratische Berliner Papyrus, welcher die bekannte Geschichte des Ueberlaeufers Sineha enthaelt, ist ausnahmsweise in senkrechten Columnen geschrieben; sonst sind wagrechte Zeilen beim Hieratischen die Regel" (Krall, *op. cit.*, 18).

[7] This objection would be met if our view (suggested by Winckler's hypothesis) should prove correct, namely that the Phœnician alphabet was originally and for centuries a "vulger" or Demotic script over against the cuneiform or "sacred" script. See, further, chap. XI.

CHAPTER X.

DATE OF ORIGIN OF THE PROTO-PHOENICIAN AND THE PHOENICIAN ALPHABET.

I.

PROTO-PHOENICIAN ALPHABET 2000-1500 B. C.

Recent archæological discoveries indicate that the proto-Phœnician alphabet sprang up between 2000 and 1500 B. C. The system of writing in the Mediterranean coast-lands from 2000 and 1600 prepared the way for the origin and spread of the Phœnician letters. A recent authority says: "Crete was the chief seat of the Mycenæan system of writing, which was in vogue from 3000 to 1500. The Mycenæan characters serve the purpose of what we call syllables and letters. These conditions probably led to the transformation of the oldest Mycenæan script into syllabic Cypriote alphabet," (see Kluge, *Die Schrift d. Mykenier).* See above, chap. VI.

So, too, Prof. Flinders Petrie: "A great signary was in use all over the Mediterranean 5,000 B. C. It is actually found in Egypt at that period, and was split in two, Western and Eastern, by the cross flux of hieroglyphic systems in Egypt and among the Hittites. This linear signary was developed variously, but retained much in common in different countries. It was first systematized by the numerical values assigned to it by the Phœnician traders, who carried it into Greece, whereby the Greek signary was delimited into an alphabet" *(Jo. Anthrop. Inst.,* 1899). This signary was not, according to Petrie, a real alphabet; "the change of attributing a single letter value to each sign, and only using signs for sounds to be built into words, is apparently a relatively late outcome of the systematizing due to Phœnician commerce".

Hommel and Weber also hold that the proto-Phœnician alphabet arose about 2000 B. C. (see above, p., 142) and that some connection exists between the cuneiform and the West-Semitic scripts. "An original, non-Semitic alphabet, but one adopted by all the Semites, appears to have existed, which was in use in Babylonia as a *scriptura profana*, but used perhaps on papyrus alongside of the picture-writing".[1] Nevertheless, riddles surround this view; "Above all, is the difficulty of explaining why the Babylonians and Assyrians did not employ, so far as we know, this simple alphabetic script (even in private letters) if it existed". "However this may be, it is certain that the alphabet goes back to the third millennium B. C. The nations which at that date came forth from the Arabian womb of races were unquestionably in possession of this script. So far as they came within the direct influence of Babylonian culture they betook themselves to the use of the cuneiform, rather than the alphabetic script, so far as we are able to determine. The other peoples, the Canaanites and Minæans, widely separated geographically and developing under different conditions, brought the same original script to the stage of independent development shown in the monuments of 1000 B. C., which exhibit a script then already a long time complete *(etwas laengst fertiges und abgeschlossenes)*" (Weber, *op. cit.*, p., 15).

It was pointed out above (chap. VII) that the South Semitic letters are probably a development of some unknown proto-types (rather than a development of the North-Semitic). Weber supports this contention, adducing some strong points. He holds that the Minæan Kingdom antedates the Sabæan. "In the beginning of the second millennium B. C. a new stream of nations began to pour out of Arabia. While the Canaanites, Phœnicians, Hebrews and Chaldeans moved Northward and North-Westward, the Minæans must have migrated to Southern Arabia. When South Arabian history begins for us, there exists a highly developed state,—undoubtedly the concomitant of a high civilization. The script of the earliest monuments exhibits a perfection which must have been the outgrowth of centuries of development. In North-Western Arabia, in the Biblical Midian there had arisen a Minæan colony,—Muzraim, which anciently stood in close connection with the Minæan commerce of the Mediterranean. Of the existence of this Minæan colony of Musraim the South Arabic monuments have yielded for the first time definite information. They furnished the key to the right understanding of numerous passages in other literature, especially in the Bible. All this cast a new light on Northern Arabia and proved that North Arabian races with or without political organization stood in close relation to

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[1] Otto Weber, *Arabien vor dem Islam*, p., 14, seq.

Canaanites and especially Hebrews from early times" *(op. cit.,* 24).

1. *The Sinai Scribings 1500 B. C.*

That such a script was actually employed by Minæans, Egyptians and Syrians as early as 1500 B. C., has been definitely established by the Egyptologist, Flinders Petrie. In his exploration on Sinai he discovered speciments of a new kind of writing several centuries older than the Exodus.[2] As his discoveries signally confirm the position here taken, we reproduce his description at some length. In excavating at Serabit near Sinai, "a remarkable group of figures was found in the temple, of a ruder style than the regular Egyptian figures and some bearing inscriptions in unknown characters. . . . At last it was clear that we had remains of about eight tablets, roughly cut, with broad grooves round them to isolate them. . . . . But none of the inscriptions were intelligible as Egyptian, of any hieratic or debased type. A figure of the god Ptah was evident, very roughly outlined; but not a word of regular Egyptian could be read. There was a mixture of Egyptian hieroglyphics, but most of the signs are quite apart from such. How much can be concluded about this writing? 1. It is a definite system and not merely a scribbling made in ignorant imitations of Egyptian writing by men who knew no better. The repetition of the same five signs in the same order on the figure and on the sphinx from the temple, as well as on three of the tablets over the mines a mile and a half distant, shows that mere fancy is not the source of the writing. 2. It is always connected with work of a style different from all the usual Egyptian work here, a peculiar local style which was not followed by any one trained in Egyptian methods. Each of these facts is not conclusive, but they all agree, and we are bound to accept this writing as being about 1500 B. C." *(op. cit.,* p., 131).[3]

Finally, "the ulterior conclusion is very important — namely that common Syrian workmen, who could not command the skill of an Egyptian sculptor, were familiar with writing in

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[2] *Researches in Sinai.* By W. M. Flinders Petrie. 1909.

[3] Petrie continues: "I am disposed to see in this, one of the many alphabets which were in use in the Mediterranean lands long before the fixed alphabet selected by the Phœnicians. A mass of signs was used continuously from 6,000, or 7,000 B. C. until out of it was crystallized the alphabet of the Mediterranean. Some of the workmen employed by the Egyptians, probably Syrians who are often named, had this system of linear signs, with which they naturally mixed hieroglyphics borrowed from their masters. And here we have the result, at a date some five centuries before the oldest Phœnician writing that is known" (p., 132).

1500 B. C.; and this writing independent of hieroglyphics and cuneiform. It finally *disproves the hypothesis that the Israelites, who came through this region into Egypt and passed back again, could not have used writing.* Here we have common Syrian laborers possessing a script which other Semitic people of this region must be credited with knowing".

C. J. Ball holds that these Sinai scribblings read from right to left (like Hebrew) and that one of them contains the word Ishtar. "The chief interest of the thing lies in the fact that the identity of Hathor with Ishhara-Ishtar is proved by the inscription and that we have here Phœnician writing of a date apparently as early as 1500 B. C."[4] Sayce agrees with Petrie and Ball.[5]

2. SUMMARY.

(1). As early as 2000 B. C. the nucleus of a script essentially alphabetic, designated here as proto-Phœnician, originated in Babylonia and gradually reached the West-land, where enterprising Canaanites (Phœnicians), adopting the Egyptian principle of acrophony and drawing from other sources (possibly Cretan) elaborated the so-called Phœnician (but more properly Semitic) alphabet. The South-Arabic type split off either from the original proto-Semitic or the early Phœnician (in the broad sense).

(2). The simple primitive script was for centuries employed as a *scriptura privata* alongside of the cuneiform (the *scriptura publica et diplomatica)* and only slowly gained the favor of the learned classes. The fact that there existed both a sacred and a vulgar script in Egypt, and the hypothesis of Winckler (see below, ch. XI) that the distinction between a "sacred" (cuneiform) and a "vulgar" (Phœnician) script was observed in Israel, would account for the non-employment of the Phœnician in the Amarna Letters.

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[4] See *Proced. Soc. Bib. Archaeol. XXX,* 243—4. "I saw at once that the first four letters, read from right to left, gave the name of Athtar, the S. Arabian equivalent of Ishtar. . . . . There are nine characters, all clear except 6 and 7, where there are flaws in the stone. We may read either 'Athtar-Antarta, or Athtar-Antsabhoth, *i. e.,* perhaps, Ishtar of the Earrings" (p., 243).

[5] E. J. Pilcher supposes that "illiterate natives attempted to copy an Egyptian stele. One or two signs would be reproduced more or less correctly; but the rest would be mere arbitrary scratches" *(Proceed. Soc. B. Ar. XXXI,* 38). On this Sayce comments thus: "Mr. Pilcher's ingenious explanation is, I am afraid, impossible" *(Ibid.,* p., 132).

II.

PHOENICIAN ALPHABET 1500 B. C.

The names, the number, the order and the forms of the letters prove that the alphabet originated with a Semite. But his name and nationality are unknown. At best, therefore, we can merely reason back from the known to the unknown. Fortunately, however, the laws of language and of graphic development aid us in the search.

A. PRINCIPLES OF ALPHABETOLOGY.

1. *Alphabets Grow.*

As seen above (ch. VII) the discovery of a great number of ancient inscriptions has led to the application of modern methods of examination and investigation. Palæography and epigraphy now rank among the exact sciences. By the laws of growth and development, so highly prized in other sciences, we are enabled to discover general principles which serve as a guide in the construction of a theory of the origin and growth of the ancient systems of writing. The older alphabetologists either ignored, or failed to apply consistently, the law of development; and so failed to reach a solution of the origin of the Phœnician alphabet. It was universally assumed that some transcendent genius at one stroke conceived, devised and put into practical use the Semitic alphabet of 22 letters, and that all his countrymen and the Semitic tribes and nations forthwith adopted the same. Nothing could be farther from the real facts. Written, like spoken language, is the result of centuries of growth and development, experimentation and modification, selection and rejection. No known alphabet, ancient or modern, sprang into being at one bound; and we have no reason to suppose that the Semitic was an exception to the rule.

Slow differentiation by minute variation, as so often pointed out in the case of plants and animals, is found to be the law that obtains in the life and growth of alphabets. It is a principle now universally accepted by Semitic palæographers and epigraphists, that graphic and alphabetic changes seldom take place arbitrarily or accidentally, but are the result of growth and development in accordance with law.

2. *Law of Correlative Variation.*

One change tends to produce another. Thus a change in one letter, especially if it approach the form of the first, necessitates a change in the second in order that the dissemblance may be maintained. This is illustrated by such letters as *m* and *n, p* and *q, v* and *w* in English. The character of the writing material often affects the shape of letters, even in the same alphabet. The script on bark, palm-leaves, papyrus or parchment differs from writing on wax, clay, stone, or metal, even though the characters in general are the same.

3. *Adoption of Foreign Script.*

Since each language has its own peculiar words and sounds, any script adopted, whether native or foreign, must conform to the spirit and phonetic laws of the language. No two languages have exactly the same script or alphabet. Hence in the adoption of a foreign script some of the old symbols will be modified or put to a new use, or even omitted. If new characters are required, they are usually adopted from scripts which have forms lending themselves to such use. Thus when the Phœnician alphabet was adopted by the Greeks, certain consonants, as aleph, he, waw, jod, (used sometimes as vowel-letters) gradually came to be used altogether as vowels. The alphabetologist who applies the principles and methods of his science understands that the evolution of the Semitic script from the earliest forms to the characters exhibited on the Moabite Stone, or the Gezer and Zakar inscriptions, must have extended over a much longer period than was though possible in the pre-scientific stage of the study of inscriptions. It is generally held that the original Phœnician alphabet had only about 18 letters.[6]

4. *No Absolute Sameness of Development.*

It is further true that the rate of alphabetic change is not uniform and absolute, but conditioned by internal and external circumstances. War, conquest, colonization, trade-routes, religion and national spirit have often greatly affected, and sometimes radically changed the transmission of alphabets. The supremacy of the Babylonian power in the fifteenth century B. C. carried the cuneiform script to the far west, so that even the Egyptian court was constrained to employ that cumbrous syllabary in its foreign correspondence. So, too, the Greek tribes, (though having a script of their own), coming into contact with the Phœnicians, the chief carriers in the Mediterranean in 1200 B. C., adopted the Phœnician script on account of its superiority and commercial relations. The same law is illustrated by the introduction of the Greek alphabet and civilization into Italy, and of the Carthaginian language into Spain.

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[6] Lidzbarski: "Auch ich bin der Ansicht, dass *Heth* nur eine Erweiterung von *He, Samekh* ein erweitertes *Zayin, Teth* ein *Taw* mit einem Kreis darum, und dass vielleicht auch *Tsadhe* aus *Shin* oder *Zayin* entstanden ist" *(Ephem.* I, 112).

B. THE THREE TYPES OF THE NORTH SEMITIC ALPHABET.

The inscriptions reviewed above reveal three types of the North Semitic alphabet, the Phœnician, the Aramaic and the Hebrew, each with marked characteristics. The conclusion reached from a comparison of the letters was that the old Semitic characters were devised not later than about 1500 B. C. The laws of graphic development prove this. A comparison of the letters in our Chart, cols. XI, XVIII, XXIII, compels us to hold that centuries were required for the rise, development, differentiation, segregation, spread, and well-nigh universal introduction by 1000 B. C. Both epigraphically and historically, the date of origin must fall not far from 1500. A principle enunciated by Lidzbarski is to the point here: "A script changes little if confined to narrow circles. But if it gain currency, and especially if used much in practical life, it soon approaches a form admitting of rapid writing. And so we find that the North Semitic script changes very little during the first five hundred years in which we can trace its history. If now the alphabet had existed, say in 1500, not as many changes would have taken place to 1000 B. C., as in the next five hundred years. But if such changes occurred, they would have been similar to the later development. At least I could assign no reason why another law should be operative". (*Ephem.* I, 111). Before the final summary we discuss briefly the relation between the North and South Semitic scripts.

C. RELATION OF NORTH AND SOUTH SEMITIC ALPHABETS.

On the basis of the data given above (chap. VII), it is clear that the South Semitic inscriptions go back to an early date. If now they should be found to antedate the North Semitic script, the date of the origin of the Semitic script would be still earlier, for obviously one influenced the other, as proved by the sameness of the letter-names.

Not Earlier than the North Semitic. The Sabæan-Minæan script, as seen from the chart, col. XXIX, is distinguished from the North Semitic by elegance of form. The writing of the principal monuments may be classed with the best that the calligraphic art furnishes. In all probability, the script, as found on the monuments was a modification of that in common use. In practical life a simpler and more cursive style was doubtless employed. But each probably influenced the other. The greater influence of the lapidary script is traceable to the symmetry prevailing in the majority of the letters. Lidzbarski made the surprising discovery that of the 29 letters 22 are so shaped that they fall into two corresponding halves. This is indicated in six of them by a vertical line, in four by a horizontal line and in twelve by both lines. That this is not accidental is shown by the ratio of the symmetrical to the other characters, viz. 22 to 7. This becomes more apparant if we compare the N. Semitic script. Here the greatest irregularity exists, and even the signs which lend themselves to a regular formation, as aleph, daleth, and he, lack a symmetrical development.

Hence it follows that the earliest script was not the symmetrically developed Sabæan-Minæan, but rather the proto-type of the irregular N. Semitic, for obviously the Northern Semites, in their adoption of a script, assuming that the South Semitic were then extant, would not have changed the ornate and regular forms into the crude and irregular Phœnician characters. It is more probable that the S. Semitic forms are a development of some unknown proto-type. Lidzbarski institutes an elaborate comparison of the N. and S. forms and reaches the conclusion that if any dependence exists, it is that of the South-Arabic on the N. Semitic. "The Sabæan script must have originated before the alphabet broke up into the three extant branches; that is about the time that the Greek branched off, *circa* 1200-1000. In all probability the S. Arabian merchants learned it in Gaza or some other Phœnician center" (Lidz., *Ephem.*, I, 128).

Contrary to Lidzbarski and Halèvy, the view is steadily gaining ground that the South-Semitic alphabet is an offshoot, not of the Phœnician, but of an earlier type. Weber and Praetorius hold that the difference between the Sabæan-Minæan and the Phœnician is so great that neither could have been derived from the other, both being traceable to a common ancestor. The Moabite characters are the result of a long development and "some facts are now at hand which indicate an experimental stage in times long prior to Mesha" (Praetorius). The South-Semitic sprang from an early (unknown, but essentially) alphabetic script. The symmetry of the S.-Semitic characters is accounted for by the fact that the Moabite and Minæan are ancient modifications of a script not yet definitely fixed.[7] Certain Sabæan leters, as aleph, beth, he,, kaph, mem, samekh cannot be conceived as evolutions of Phœnician forms. Praetorius would trace a few letters, as he, heth, kaph, to Cypriote prototypes.[8]

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[7] "Der unter sich im ganzen einheitliche, dem Mesa-alphabet gegenueber aber vielfach fremdartige Character, den die Buchstaben der Sued-Semitischen Alphabete aufweisen, erklaert sich dann daraus, dass Sued-Semitisch und Mesa

Other Semitic philologists entertain the view that the S. Semitic alphabet cannot be a development of the Phœnician. The latest edition (the eleventh) of the Encyclopedia Britannica, presumably the highest authority in England, says:" "It would be premature to say that the Sabæan alphabet is derived from the Phœnician. It is likely, considering the date of both, that *they are equally descendants from an older source*. . . It is the tendency of the Northern Semitic to open the heads of letters and therefore it is possible that the Sabæan form for *jod* may be older than the Phœnician. Similarly, if *pe* mean mouth, Hommel is right in contending that the Sabæan (see Chart) is more like the object than the Phœnician. So also if *kaph* corresponds to the Bab. *Kappu,* the hollow hand, the Sabæan form (see chart), which Hommel interprets as the outline of the hand with the fingers turned in and the thumb raised, is a better pictograph than the various meaningless forms of k". Finally, "if it be possible to assign to some of the monuments discovered in Arabia by Glaser a date not later than 1500 B. C., the origin of the alphabet and its dissemination are carried back to a much earlier period than had hitherto been supposed" (Vol. I, p., 729).

Since even Lidzbarski admits that the Sabæan script arose before the breaking up of the Semitic alphabet into the three North Semitic branches, we seem to be forced to predicate an earlier, that is Proto-Phœnician alphabet.[9]

D. ORIGIN OF SEMITIC ALPHABET CIRCA 1500 B. C.

The lines of evidence from three independent fields, namely, the North and South Semitic and the Greek inscriptions,

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uralte Gabelungen von einer noch nicht ganz festen, einheitlichen Schrift sind. Und aus diesem Verhaeltniss ergibt sich weiter sofort, dass die vermissten Mittelglieder zwischen Mesa und Sued.-Semitisch ueberhaupt nicht vorhanden sein koennen" (F. Praetorius, *Das Kan. u. S. Sem. Al.* in *Zeits. d. D. M. G. LXIII,* p., 189, f).

[8] Lidzb. holds that the Phœn. aleph was turned half way round as in the Greek A and so developed into the Sabæan form. See chart. He would derive even the Sabæan *teth* and *pe* from the Phœnician. Grimme admits that the long time required for the transformation of the Phœn. teth into the S.-Sem., implies a great antiquity for the S.-Sem. script; and in fact "it is allowed that the original Semitic alphabet reaches very nearly to the Amarna period" *(Zeits. f. Assy.* 1907).

[9] "The theory is gradually gaining ground that the Phœnicians borrowed the alphabet from South Arabia" *(New Intern. Ency.).* So too the *Jewish Ency.*

have established beyond a peradventure the fact that the Semitic script and its various offshoots originated in an epoch far more remote than has usually been supposed, especially by the school predisposed to question the credibility of ancient history. According to the law of development of scripts we are compelled to predicate centuries for the evolution of letters which were formerly supposed to have sprung up over night. There is no such discipline as the science of epigraphy, or even of history and language, unless we follow the laws of development whithersoever they lead. Scientists and historians have during recent decades professed to apply rigidly what is called the law of evolution (whatever that may be), but in the field of Semitic epigraphy the most pretentiously scientific and progressive Old Testament scholars (Wellhausen, Stade, *et id omne genus)* have with a few notable exceptions (Glaser, Hommel) seen nothing but a dead level of uniformity or a magic change of scripts and alphabets.[10]

But the spade has at last turned up from beneath the ruins of ancient cities and temples the mute (but incontrovertible) witnesses of far-off and forgotten civilizations with all their wealth of art and engraving. There can be no shadow of doubt that writing and literature in the Semitic (Phœnician) script were cultivated centuries before the period to which the oldest extant inscriptions can be traced. From the firm foothold of the known date of inscriptions we can with the greatest assurance reason back to the probable date of other inscriptions, and thus establish approximately the date of origin of the alphabet. All the available evidence, linguistic, historic and archæological, tends with cumulative force and cogency to establish our thesis that the Semitic script arose about 1500 B. C.

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[10] It may be observed, *en passant,* that the very school, the Grafian, which has all along maintained that O. T. language, history, and religion are but an expression of the law of evolution, is guilty here of the most palpable inconsistency in pushing the employment of writing and literature in Israel down to about 900 B. C. So far as we have been enabled to discover in all the immense literature of the "Higher Criticism", there is nowhere even an attempt to maintain by epigraphic proof the extreme position of the Grafians and Panbabylonists on this point. There is to be sure no end of assertion and of claiming everything in sight. But of proof there is very little.

CHAPTER XI.

THE SCRIPT AND THE LANGUAGE OF THE EARLY OLD TESTAMENT BOOKS.

I. THE GROUND COVERED THUS FAR.

What now are the points established thus far? It was shown that the Semites, especially the Babylonians, early adopted a syllabic system of writing and cultivated literature on an extensive scale. A natural inference is that the ancestors of Israel, the Terahites and Abrahamites, had some knowledge of writing and possibly carried with them from Ur of the Chaldees tablets containing accounts of the creation, Paradise, the fall and other early narratives of Genesis. Again, Egypt was the home of scribes, and of writing and literature in a preeminent degree, the youth generally being taught to write, even the poorest child and the slave at his task. It would have been an unparalled exception had not at least the more brilliant and intelligent of the Israelites, surrounded by writing on all sides, acquired the art sufficiently to read papyrus rolls or simple tablets. Canaan itself prior to the conquest by the Israelites had been under the influence of Babylonian law and civilization for a thousand years and was far advanced in the arts; some at least of the common people could read and write. The passages cited from the Pentateuch, Joshua and Judges clearly prove, as admitted by negative critics, that writing existed among the Hebrews as early as the date of Gideon, the Song of Deborah and perhaps the Exodus. The general spread of writing during the first half of the period of the Judges and the cultivation of literature not later than the second half were pointed out as conceded by nearly all authorities in this field.

2. THE GROUND STILL TO BE COVERED.

But it is not sufficient to show that writing of some kind flourished among the Hebrews at an early date: we wish to know whether they employed the Phœnician alphabet of 22 letters, or whether they employed the difficult cuneiform, or the complicated Egyptian hieratic, or some other ancient script.

This necessitated an inquiry into the time and place of origin of the Phœnician alphabet — the alphabet which the Hebrews adopted at some disputed date and in which their literature of the middle period was composed. An examination of the Phœnician, Aramaic, Hebrew and South Semitic inscriptions by the comparative method and according to the laws of graphic development, pointed to *circa* 1500 B. C. as the latest possible date for the invention of the Phœnician letters. The period of the adoption of the Phœnician alphabet by the Greeks, about 1200-1100 pointed, it was seen, in the same direction, namely a date sufficiently early to allow for the fixedness, spread and introduction of the Phœnician alphabet.

The next question to engage our attention is the date when the Hebrews adopted the Phœnician alphabet and began to use it in writing their books, sacred and profane. If it could be shown that the Hebrews at an early date came into contact with Phœnicians, Canaanites, Minæans or some people using the Phœnician script and adopted it from that quarter, the way would be prepared for an argument in support of the claim that the Hebrews after the Exodus employed the Hebrew language and the Phœnician script rather than the Assyrian language and the cuneiform script.

3. NATURE OF THE PROBLEM.

The view that the early Old Testament books were written in the Hebrew language and the archaic Hebrew script remained unshaken until within recent years. But since the discovery of the Armarna Letters, the Tell Taannek (1350 B. C.) and the Assyrian Gezer inscriptions (seventh cent. B. C.)[1] the hypothesis has been advanced that a considerable part of the early Old Testament literature was composed in the Babylonian-Assyrian language and the cuneiform script, and afterward translated into the Hebrew language and script. If this hypothesis should prove correct, it would necessitate an entire reconstruction of traditional views regarding the source and character of the early Old Testament books.[2]

The question cannot be settled off-hand. The original copies, and early transcripts of the Pentateuch and of the component parts, perished before the time of Christ. By the aid of the present Hebrew Scriptures and of the ancient versions we can establish the integrity of the text from 458 B. C. (Ezra) or certainly 300 B. C. onward; and by means of cross-references and quotations in the Old Testament we can prove that the substance of the Pentateuch was extant in 900 B. C. The doubts of the Higher Criticism would be dispelled, if there should be discovered a copy of the Pentateuch or a part thereof written in 1450, or 1320 or even 1000 B. C. But we have nothing of the kind, not even a line of the Pentateuch written on stone, stucco or papyrus in an early period. Not only so, but we have no positive knowledge whether the autographs were written in the Egyptian, the Assyrian or the Hebrew language, or in the Egyptian, the cuneiform or the Phœnician script. Prior to 1000 B. C. every inch is disputed territory.

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[1] The reader will note that the Gezer Calendar Tablet described above (chap. VII) is in the Heb. lang. and script, but the Gezer Assyrian inscriptions in the cuneiform script (see Sec. D. 2, below).

[2] Winckler, Benzinger and Jeremias see in the hypothesis (which for them is a fixed datum) strong support for the Panbabylonism which traces nearly everything valuable in the Old Testament to Babylonian culture and religion; Conder and Sayce see in it a basis for undermining the Graf-Wellhausen theory of the Codes.

No apology is needed for an inquiry into the facts.

A. THE SCRIPT EMPLOYED BY THE HEBREWS AFTER EZRA.

1. *Writing in Square Characters.*

From the time of Ezra (458-444) the Hebrews gradually came to use a script called the Square or Aramaic. The letters of the ordinary Hebrew Bible of today are similar to the so-called square characters (see Chart, col. XXVIII). If proof of the gradual introduction of this script during the three centuries following Ezra were demanded, it could be supplied from extant speciments of such writing and from the testimony of the Talmud and the Church Fathers. Previous to the Exile the Hebrews used the so-called archaic Hebrew (Phœnician) script, which, though the progenitor of the Aramaic script, differed from it considerably in the form of the letters (see Chart). It is a disputed point when the Hebrews finally abandoned the archaic script.

(1). *Epigraphic Testimony.* Seals, gems, coins, and other epigraphic remains testify that the new or square characters gradually displaced the archaic in the centuries between Ezra and Christ. Not a little importance attaches to the question, in what script the later books of the Old Testament, as Zechariah, Haggai, Malachi and Chronicles were composed, as also the script of the Pentateuch which lay before the Septuagint translators. It is possible that some strange differences between the readings of the Hebrew and the Septuagint texts are due to confusion in the transition from the archaic to the square characters. The fact that the Samaritans never abandoned the archaic Hebrew script in favor of the square characters is a proof that the

Pentateuch was extant in that script about 400 B. C. and a criterion in the comparison of the script employed by the Jews after the Exile. It is generally allowed that the connecting link between the archaic and the square Hebrew script is supplied by a bi-lingual inscription, that of Araq el-Emir found by Clermont-Ganneau near Emmaus. It is not earlier than the fourth pre-Christian century; the characters are quite similar to those on the Asmonean coins (Lidzbarski).

(2). *Testimony of the Talmudists and the Fathers.* The Talmud says: "Originally the law was given to Israel in the *Hebrew* character and in the sacred tongue: it was given again to them, in the days of Ezra, in the *Assyrian* character and in the Aramaic tongue" (*Sanh.* 21 b). The former phrase means archaic Hebrew, the latter the square Hebrew script.[3] Origen states that in accurate MSS. the sacred name was written in archaic characters unlike those in ordinary use in his day. In the commentary on Ezek. 9: 4, Origen adds that a converted Jew told him that in the archaic style the letter *taw* had the form of a cross (which is correct). Jerome, Epiphanius and Jewish rabbis either intimate or directly affirm that a change of character was introduced by Ezra, and that the Samaritans alone retained the archaic script.

2. *Indeterminateness of Date.*

As seen above, the evidence is conclusive that the archaic Hebrew script was used among the Jews on seals and coins long after the Exile. The remarkable fact is that on all the Jewish coins of the pre-Christian period the writing is not in the square, but in the archaic characters. As we just saw, certain of the inscriptions of the third and second centuries B. C. are in square letters. If the Talmudic statement that Ezra introduced the square letters be correct, it would seem that the two scripts were employed side by side for several centuries. In fact the recovered seals and coins indicate that the old characters were understood, if not actually employed, by the people until about the middle of the first century B. C., if not to the Christian era.[4]

B. PHOENICIAN SCRIPT EMPLOYED BY HEBREWS FROM DATE OF EXODUS.

1. *The Script from 900 to 400 B. C.*

We proceed to trace the script employed in Israel prior to Ezra.

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[3] On the use of the term "Assyrian" in such a connection Ad. Neubauer says: "In Greek writers Assyria is often employed for Aramaic countries, which were later called Syria. In fact the name of Syria is derived from the name Assyria. Even the system of vowel-points employed in the eighth century A. D. in some Eastern schools, which are placed above the letters, is termed the Assyrian punctuation, while the system used by the Western school is called the Palestinian Punctuation" *(Sudia Biblica,* III).

[4] The fact that some four centuries elapsed before the square script supplanted the archaic is proof additional to that already given that some four or five centuries would be required for the wide dissemination of the Phœnician script before the date of the Moabite Stone.

(1). Evidence from Seals. Attention has already been directed to the large number of coins and seals in the archaic Hebrew script. It is a singular fact that even after the square script had been adopted, the archaic script was still retained a long time on coins.

Of the specifically Hebrew seals we have a sufficient number to trace the development of the script from the ninth pre-Christian century to the final abandonment of the archaic letters. Recently a considerable number of post-Exilic seals has come to light, but here a brief notice must suffice. Among them is a seal with the inscription "Belonging to 'Asiyu, son of Yokim". The date according to Cooke is 5—4 century.

(2). Pre-Exilic Seals. The pre-Exilic seals, described above, chap. VII, furnish abundant proof that the old Hebrew script was in general use in Israel from the ninth century onward. The El Siggeb seal and the two Hananiahu seals may be taken as types of the writing of the 7—6 century B. C. The number of seals from this period would indicate that many men of rank, and even women, had their seals.[5] Other seals of this period are those bearing the legends: "Haggai, the son of Shebaniah", "Uzziahu, the son of Hareph", "Maasayahu, son of Meshallem" and "Joshua, the son of Asayahu". Of a somewhat earlier date probably are the following: "Shebaniah, son of Uzziah", "Obadiah, servant of the King" and "Schema, servant of the King". All these specimens of Hebrew script testify to the quite general use of writing among the Hebrews in the ninth century B. C. It is logically certain that the contemporaneous books of the Old Testament were written in Hebrew and in the archaic Hebrew script.

(3). Longer Archaic Hebrew Inscriptions. Additional evidence of the use of the archaic script in Israel is found in the so-called longer inscriptions, especially the Siloam and Gezer. The former is proof positive that in 700 B. C. this script was in such general use that workmen in excavating the Siloam tunnel recorded briefly a few facts regarding it. The comparatively regular forms of the letters and the fact that ordinary laborers had the interest to record and the skill to execute such an inscription in an out-of-the-way and almost inaccessible place are incontestable evidence that writing in this

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[5] This implies, not that the owner could not write or that writing was not generally practiced, but rather that it was the custom of the age and was found convenient (just as in Assyria and Egypt) to carry a seal ready for use and as a protection against a spurious signature or authentication.

script was a well-known and quite generally practiced art in Israel in the eighth century.

a. Proof from the Gezer Calendar Tablet. Perhaps the most striking proof of the script employed by the Hebrews in 800 B. C. is furnished by the Gezer Calendar Tablet. This recently discovered witness (1908) of the script in use in the ninth century merits further notice here. (See above, chap. VII). Of its antiquity there can be no doubt. The great body of Semitic epigraphists, as Gray, Halèvy, Lidzbarski, Ronzevalle and Macalister, pronounce it as certainly not later than the ninth century. Lidzbarski, the highest authority in Europe, regards the characters without exception as archaic, there being no late forms whatever.

b. Evidence from the Jeroboam Seal. The Jeroboam seal enables us to carry the use of the archaic script back to a still earlier period. The leading authorities assign it to Jeroboam I (935—15) rather than to Jeroboam II (781—41). According to Kautzsch "no one is able to show that this type of script underwent material change in the period between Jeroboam I and Mesha. In fact the character of the Greek alphabet, which had evidently branched off before the tenth century, points to a long period of stability in the oldest types". Lidzbarski expresses himself emphatically in favor of the earlier date: "The script has the oldest general impress of the Semitic alphabet. The period in which the same writing as that upon the seal was in general use, was long before that of the Jeroboam. Accordingly the script would point to the age of Jeroboam I" *(op. cit.)*. These conjectures have been signally borne out by the character of the script of the Samaria Ostaka described above (chap. VI). Important consequences follow. The Jeroboam seal is a scarabæoid of jasper, and is in a high style of art. The letters are characterized by freedom and regularity of execution and imply a long period of permanence of forms. The skill to produce an artistic work of this sort could not have sprung up over night, but was the result of a long period of practice and experimentation.

c. The Samaria Inscriptions. The most decisive evidence remains to be noticed. As described above (pp., 114—6), there were discovered in 1910 on the site of the ancient city of Samaria, some seventy-five archaic Hebrew inscriptions, which from their age and character are of such signal importance as to form a new era in Hebrew epigraphy. Remains of the only palace of a Hebrew king ever found were unearthed; and many objects of interest containing writing were found. In a certain room "was found an alabaster vase inscribed with the name of Ahab's contemporary, Osorkon II of Egypt. The words are divided by ink spots, and the reading of many of the records is perfectly clear. The script is the same as that of the Siloam Tunnel and of the Moabite Stone. To the eighth or ninth century therefore we should assign the ostraca even if they had not been found in the Ahab building. . . . . It seems obvious that these ostraka are of the nature of labels attached to jars or groups of jars in a store-room adjoining the palace, and that they indicate origin, ownership, and in most cases character of the contents".

As these inscriptions fall between 900 and 850 B. C. they furnish overwhelming proof of our contention that the archaic Phœnician script was in use in Israel quite generally at a very early date. As says Prof. Lyon: "That these ostraca are very precious from an epigraphic and linguistic point of view is obvious. The script is beautiful and flowing, thus showing much practise in writing with the pen. We have here for the first time a large number of Hebrew proper names of definite and early date preserved on contemporary records. And when we consider that the amount of writing here is far greater than all other Hebrew writings yet known, the discovery may be called epoch-making" *(op. cit.)*. These "finds" are indeed "epoch-making", for they allay all doubt as to the language and script employed by the Hebrews in 900 B. C.[6]

2. *The Hebrew Script between 1350 and 900 B. C.*

It is clear that the archaic Hebrew script was employed for commercial and literary purposes from the tenth century onward. The preceding examples are a sufficient proof. How far back of this can we go? Here the argument is that of analogy. The older Stade-Wellhausen school hold that the Hebrews practically had no knowledge of this script until about 1000 B. C. A more recent school, or rather certain scholars of different schools, contend that whatever writing there may have been was in the Babylonian language and script. The view adopted here is that the Phœnician script was introduced into

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[6] Kittel well says: "Here then the Samaria inscriptions are significant. What previously was highly probable has now become a certainty. If the Phœnician script was used on ostraca already in 900 B. C., it must have been employed on papyrus, skins, stone and clay a long time previously" *(Theolog. Literaturb.,* Feb., 1911).

Israel about the time of the Exodus and was employed continuously in the composition of the Old Testament.

(1). A Suitable Script Necessary. That a considerable body of Hebrew literature had grown up in the pre-Davidic period is certain. "The Book of Jashar", "The Book of the Wars of Jehovah", "Deborah's Triumphal Ode" and other productions were unquestionably composed in the two or three centuries preceding the reign of David. If it be held that Moses and Joshua, or their scribes, drew up historical memoranda and a code of laws, it is incumbent upon us to face the question of the language and script in which such literature was embodied.

While it is true that the cuneiform script reproduces Canaanite (Hebrew) words in the Amarna Tablets and possesses in fact all the sounds of the Hebrew, it is such a complicated syllabary that it was never regarded as convenient or popular, even among the Assyrians, as the Aramaic notes on Assyrian contracts show. Much less probable is it that this foreign language and script was employed by the Hebrew people, even if the guild of scribes employed it in foreign correspondence and perhaps monumental records. No proof whatever exists that the Assyrian language and script was in use at this time in Israel for the ordinary purposes of life and literature. The Gezer Calendar Tablet, the Jeroboam seal and the numerous Samaria ostraca show unquestionably that the archaic Hebrew was the current script in 900-800. The fact that the Phœnician script was in extensive use in 900 is strong *prima facie* evidence that it must have been introduced a long time previously. It follows that in the David-Solomon period the Hebrew language and script were employed for all literary purposes.[7]

(2). No Transition in the Script. The Hebrew text exhibits no trace of any such confusion as would result if the cuneiform had been used originally and then translated or transliterated into Hebrew. The phenomena generally relied upon to prove such a source are found even in greater degree in later books, and so the argument would extend to the whole Old Testament, which not even the most zealous Panbabylonist would allow. The argument proves nothing. The Book of Jashar affords conclusive proof that one and the same language and script was employed from the first. This book was begun a century or two before the time of David, and completed dur-

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[7] The Gezer cuneiform tablets of the seventh century B. C. which might seem to be an exception, are reviewed below, sec. D, 2.

ing or after his reign, for it contains the "Lament over Saul and Jonathan", which was unquestionably written in the Hebrew language and script; and so was the remainder of the book.

An equally cogent proof is furnished by Deborah's Ode, which is allowed by critics of all shades to be contemporaneous with the event celebrated. The Hebrew text is in a fairly good state, excepting vs. 8-15. This one instance of confusion in the text is due, however, not to a transcription of the Ode from the cuneiform to the Hebrew script, but to some mischance in the transmission of the Hebrew script. A comparison of the Hebrew with the phonograms and ideograms that would be employed in the Assyrian reveals no trace of a cuneiform text. The only alternative is that it was composed in the Hebrew language and script.

(3). *Early Adoption of Phoenician Script.* As shown above, the Phœnician script was certainly invented about 1500 B. C. This conclusion remains unshaken; else there is no science of alphabetology or of Semitic epigraphy. The Phœnician script was unquestionably in use, perhaps in wide use, at the date of the Exodus, whether that be placed in 1200, 1300, or even 1450. The only question that remains is whether the people of Israel had a knowledge of it and were fairly well skilled in its use at the Exodus.

(4). *Phonician Script among Surrounding People.* It matter little here, by whom the Phœnician alphabet was invented. On our theory the credit falls to the Phœnicians; in any event it was gradually communicated to and adopted by surrounding people (Moabites, Ammonites, Aramæans, Arabians, etc). A people as quick-witted and resourceful as the Hebrews, whether still in Egypt, in the Desert, or in Canaan, would not be slow to adopt the simple and time-saving device. Though the Moabite Stone is the solitary witness of the art of writing in early times among that people, it affords incontestable proof that writing and literature had flourished there several centuries. The Moabites must have gotten the Phœnician script at least several centures before Mesha, *i. e.* not later than the twelfth; otherwise it is impossible to account for the difference between the Moabite script and the earliest types of the Hebrew and Aramaic. The Phœnician script was certainly known at Gebal (Byblos) in 1200 B. C.[8]

It does not appear that the Moabites were superior to their neighbors in cultural attainments; indeed, but for the accidental discovery of the Moabite Stone we should be disposed to place them low in the scale of civilization. The somewhat singular fact that but one monument of their graphic and literary skill has been preserved, does not indeed prove absolutely a poverty or ideas, but it at leasts suggests that they produced little of permanent worth. Comparing this with the transcendent character of Hebrew achievement, from the time of David and Solomon, we must conclude that a people who, as all admit, were in the height of intellectual and literary fame in the tenth century, must have had a long period of preparation before they could have achieved such results. If the Moabites, Sidonians, Tyrians and Aramæans at an early date acquired the Phœnician script, what hindered the Hebrews, even though yet in Egypt, but in contact with the outer world (through association with Palestinian traders), from acquiring the art? It is utterly preposterous to suppose that while Phœnicians, Moabites and Aramæans were composing long inscriptions in their native dialects the Hebrews had no literature at all, or wrote in the Assyrian language and script.

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[8] This is shown from the "Diary of Wenamon", an Egyptian officer who made a journey to Gebal in 1150 B. C. In the course of the narrative we are told that the Phœnician prince caused the journals of his fathers to be read. As these were doubtless in the Phœnician language and script and ancient, the date was anywhere between 1400 and 1200.

(5). Moses and the Minaean Alphabet. Much can be said in support of Hommel's view that the Hebrews before the Exodus acquired the alphabet in the Minæan or South Arabic form and that Moses employed it in his writings. Moses spent forty years in Midian and came under the influence of an advanced Semitic civilization, and nothing prevents our holding that he acquired a knowledge of the Minæan script then current in Midian. All recent authorities agree that not only Southern, but also Western Arabia was in early times the center of a high civilization. According to Winckler, "The land which produced the Yemen culture with its countless inscriptions and great structures was no province in which Beduin life controlled the intellectual culture. . . . . It is impossible that N. Arabia should have been uninfluenced by the civilization of Hither Asia. Such settlements as Teima, Mekka, Medina, are primitive cities, in which cults and cultures prevailed, common to Arabia and Hither Asia as members of one family" *(Keils. u. A. T.,* 138). Winckler allows that the Minæan civilization has a value "for Biblical antiquity of no less significance than that of the Euphrates Valley. The acme of the older kingdom of S. Arabia coincides with the rise of Israel".

Having observed that certain Hebrew forms are similar to the early Minæan, Hommel proceeds: "The only possible inference that can be drawn from this is that both the Moabites and Hebrews, during the period prior to the adoption of the Canaanite language, that is while they still spoke a pure Arabic dialect, must have originally employed the Minæan script in place of the so-called Phœnician or Canaanitish" (274). That

Moses was conversant with Midianite culture and perhaps with the Minæan script is evident from several considerations. Midian, which plays such an important part in the history of Moses, is mentioned in the Minæan inscriptions under the name Mutsram; its geographical position as given in the Old Testament concides with the Minæan Mutsram. Moses during his 40 years sojourn in Midian probably learned the Minæan script.

In a recent work, Hommel adduces additional proof for his view: "It is clear that in the Minæan inscriptions as in the Sabæan, we have two only slightly different branches of an archaic idiom early acquiring a fixed literary form, in other words, a so-called literary language, which changed but little from the middle of the second pre-Christian millennium (Minæan) to the eighth (Sabæan), and thence to the time of Islam. This monumental language represents one and the same civilization extending over two thousand years" *(Grundr. d. Geog. u. Gesch.,* 150). It is the fashion in some Grafian circles to belittle Hommel's conclusions, but the correctness of many of his positions is corroborated every day by fresh evidence from the excavations in the East; and the cumulative proof looks in the direction of a high civilization in Midian and Arabia in 1800-1500, and of an alphabet antedating in some respects the Phœnician.[9] The existence of an early Minæan script is therefore no longer an open question; a reasonable doubt exists, however, whether the roots of this script go back as far as Hommel traces them, namely 2000 B. C. In any event, Moses and the Hebrews of his day may well have been in possession of an alphabetic script, either the Phœnician (the more probable view), or the Minæan (less probable).[10]

(6). The Phoenician Script Long a Scriptura Privata. The contention that the Phœnician script was not in existence in 1400 B. C. because it is not employed in the Amarna Letters is without much force. The Babylonian language and script had for centuries been the medium of correspondence and was understood at the Egyptian, Hittite, Mitannian, Canaanite and other courts; the Phœnician would not have gained general recognition within less than two or three centuries after its origin. The cuneiform was the *scriptura sacra et publica;* the

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[9] "The Phœnician characters, even when employed on monuments, create the impression of having been designed originally for cursive writing on papyrus; East Arabia was in fact the home of the date-palm" (Hommel, *op. cit.).*

[10] Hommel conceives that the Mosaic writings, originally composed in the Minæan script, were subsequently transcribed into the Phœnician.

Phœnician circulated a long time as a *scriptura profana et privata.*

(7). Phoenician Alphabet Known to Hebrews in Moses-Joshua Age. It is a well ascertained fact that the Oriental world in the age of Moses "was as highly educated and literary as was Europe in the age of the Renaissance". Outside of the Old Testament the literature thus far recovered is chiefly Egyptian and Babylonian. That Moses and his scribes understood and employed the cuneiform is unquestioned. If the petty princelings of Canaan and the chiefs of the Beduin tribes could write letters in cuneiform, we may be sure that Moses and the higher classes in Israel (the *Shoterim* and heads of clans) could also. Much greater would be their desire to acquire the new and simple alphabet designed especially for their native tongue (for they retained the Hebrew in Egypt).[11]

The place-names Kiriath-sepher and Kiriath-sannah (which are Hebrew) do not appear to be translations from the Assyrian; and so the books deposited there were at least in part in the Canaanite language and script. The Grafians constantly urge that a considerable part of Israel's culture was borrowed from the Canaanites. If such be the case (which may be doubted) what hindered the Israelites from obtaining the alphabet from them as early as the time of Joshua? Subsequent history shows that the Israelites were superior to the Canaanites morally and intellectually. In fact the Canaanites were simply outclassed.[12] And yet this degenerate people were according to the current criticism the superiors and teachers of the sturdy Hebrews! ! The evidence shows that Israel at the time of the Conquest had already acquired the alphabet and was not dependent upon the Canaanites.

Kittel sees in the report of the Egyptian traveller Wen-Amon proof that papyrus was in great demand in Palestine as writing material in 1100 B. C. One passage speaks of 500 papyrus rolls which the Egyptians are to send to Byblos in payment for Lebanon wood. That this papyrus was to be used for writing purposes cannot be doubted; and the passage proves "that at this time literature was extensively cultivated in Syria and Palestine". The papyrus was to be delivered at Byblos, the emporium of the Canaanite book-trade; from which point it was distributed to the surrounding towns. "What Kiriath-sepher was to the South, Byblos was to the North" *(Theolog. Literatb.,* Feb., 1911). Nothing forbids our holding that the Hebrews at this time and indeed from the time of Moses used papyrus rolls for their sacred literature, as indeed the constant occurrence of the word "book" implies. The probability that the earliest Old Testament books were written on papyrus would account for their disappearance.

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[11] "We cannot suppose that a people acquainted with that mode of writing (namely, the cuneiform) would relapse into illiterates when the Phœnician alphabet took its place; much more reasonable is it to suppose that this discovery would be an immense stimulus to them" (J. Robertson, *Early Relig. of Is.*, p., 78).

[12] What literature have we from the Canaanites, of whom the Grafians make so much? Practically none at all. A few seals and gems are not literature.

The same account of Wen-Amon refers to a monument on which the prince of Byblos records one of his exploits. The script was obviously that of the natives, namely the Phœnician and not the cuneiform or hieratic. "Hence we are driven to the conclusion that the North-Semitic, Canaanite alphabet (even if not exactly in the later form) was in common use in 1100 B. C." (Kittel).

(8). How the Hebrews Acquired the Phoenician Script. Our ignorance of the route by which the Hittites, Mitannians, Cappadocians and Palestinians adopted the cuneiform script is tenfold greater than our knowledge. Until the Grafians can tell us how the Mitannians acquired the cuneiform as far back at least as 1500 B. C., or how the Hittites came to employ the same syllabary, or how and why the Cappadocians and Canaanites adopted the same system of writing, we need not hesitate to affirm that our ignorance of the exact manner in which the Hebrews at an early date acquired the Phœnician script is no bar to an acceptance of the fact. Again, who can tell us, by what route the Moabites acquired the alphabet at a date so remote that it was thoroughly naturalized in the tenth pre-Christian century? Only yesterday there came to light an Aramaic monument (that of Zakar, ninth century B. C.) from a king and kingdom somewhere in Northern Syria, of whose existence men had never dreamed.

How can we account for the use of the Phœnician script in Cyprus (where the Baal-Lebanon inscription was found) in 1000 B. C., and in Zinjirli not much later? How was the Phœnician alphabet introduced into widely separated regions at an early date? No one knows; we know simply the fact. In our lack of evidence regarding the history of the cuneiform, Phœnician and other scripts, we do not consider it incumbent upon us to prove with mathematical accuracy the manner in which the Hebrews acquired the alphabet; enough, however, is known to disprove the assumed late date (1000 B. C.) assigned by the Grafians, and to establish an early date *(circa* 1400 B. C.).

C. THE HEBREWS AND THE EGYPTIAN LANGUAGE AND SCRIPT.

1. *Hebrews Learned the Egyptian Language and Writing.*

Something can be said to support the contention that the Hebrews while in Egypt learned the Egyptian mode of writing and used it at the date of the Exodus. It would be a thing unparalled in the history of human development, if a people as talented as the Israelites had not learned to write the ordinary Egyptian script. As seen above, writing was practised by the Egyptians of all ranks. From the number of recovered school exercises and of other proofs of writing, it would appear that almost every Egyptian acquired the art. The relation of the Hebrews to the Egyptians was of a character to afford ample opportunity to acquire the art. Though in general dwelling apart, they nevertheless came into daily contact with each other, as shown in the Biblical narrative. Some Egyptians doubtless learned the Hebrew language;[13] the more favorably situated Hebrews either from necessity or inclination acquired a knowledge of the Egyptian language and script. On the very day of the Exodus the children of Israel "asked of the Egyptians jewels of silver and jewels of gold and raiment, ... and they let them have what they asked" (Ex. 12: 35).[14] From this it may be inferred that the Egyptians and Hebrews lived in close proximity, visiting back and forth, becoming in turn each other's guests and of course speaking, now Hebrew now Egyptian, according to the ability and preference of individuals. It is altogether probable that during four hundred years' sojourn in Egypt, the Israelites became in large degree a bi-lingual people.

2. *Was the Egyptian Script Employed in Writing Hebrew?*

Attention has already been directed to the fact (see chap. IX) that the Egyptians by means of the Standard Alphabet of 25 letters were accustomed to write Semitic words, as attested by extant papyrus rolls. The Hebrews acquainted with the hieratic script could with some little experimentation select a sufficient number of current conventional signs for the expression of Hebrew words and sentences.[15] A people to whom subsequent history ascribes a high order of inventive ability and literary skill would certainly find means of writing down simple Hebrew sentences by the aid of the Egyptian syllabary. The influence of the Egyptians on the Israelites was of such a character culturally and religiously that the Exodus was a necessity if Israel were to fulfill its mission and escape the contamination of Egypt.

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[13] Rawlinson says: "As all educated Romans in the days of Cicero learned Greek and all Russians in the time of Alexander I were taught French, so in the days of Moses all educated Egyptians had to be familiar with a Semitic dialect, which if not exactly Hebrew, was at any rate closely akin to it" *(Moses and his Times)*.

[14] See also Ex. 3: 22; 11: 2, etc., to the same effect. The latest critical commentary on Exodus says: "According to E, the Israelites lived among the Egyptians, not separate in Goshen. The sojourners would be either friends staying as visitors, or possibly female slaves or hired servants". (McNeile, *Book of Exodus*, 20).

Nothing forbids our holding that the Hebrews at the Exodus had acquired a knowledge of writing sufficient to enable them to use Egyptian characters in writing Hebrew. "As far back as the XI dynasty (*c.* 2060) the Egyptians adopted a new method of writing proper names, particularly foreign names. Instead of using signs for the consonants only, as was the case in the ordinary script, they began to employ signs for syllables composed of consonants with the vowels, *a, e, u*" (Paton, *Early Hist. Sy. and Pal.,* p., 50). As the Hebrews dwelt in Goshen not far from the capital and the seats of culture, they naturally became acquainted with the system of expressing foreign words in the select or special Egyptian alphabet. These considerations meet the objections of Reuss that neither the mass of the people nor the Levites could read or write.[16]

3. *Literary Attainments of Moses.*

The primary question here is whether Moses had the requisite literary qualifications to compose laws and to write them in Hebrew. The statement that "Moses was instructed in all the wisdom of the Egyptians" (Acts 7: 22) is interpreted differently by the two opposing schools of Old Testament criticism. The conservatives regard the passage as a direct proof of their contention that Moses had a knowledge of writing sufficient for that day. The Grafians find here no historical credibility, but, in the language of Stade, only "a haggadic development of the *legendary* elements of the Exodus-narratives" *(A. T. Theologie,* Seite, 38). The correct position, briefly stated, is to this effect: "The adopted son of a princess required a princely education. . . . . This was to fit him for a high office under the government, if not even for the Egyptian throne. But in God's intention it was to fit him for the leadership of the Hebrews. He was possessed of great natural ability, and the training which he received schooled him for the great work for which he was destined". (J. D. Davis' *Dic. of Bible,* 493). Doubtless some of the traditions related by Philo and Josephus are not literally correct, but they rest on a basis of fact and historical verisimilitude.[17]

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[15] One need but turn to the transcription alphabet in any Egyptian Grammar to convince himself that the Hebrew letters with a few exceptions were expressed by Egyptian characters.

[16] R. S. Poole says: "The documents of the scribes of that age not only show by their accurate translation of Semitic words that the writers had a mastery of the foreign sounds they wrote; but more than this, it was the fashion to introduce Semitic words into the Egyptian language".

A recent English writer, Dr. S. Kinns in "Graven in the Rock", furnishes a graphic picture of what he conceives to have been the early education of Moses. "The youthful Moses would doubtless have been shaved in the same way [*i. e.* all his hair shaved off] and kept scrupulously clean by the princesses's attendants, who would train him in all refined manners then prevalent among the highest circles of the Egyptians. His residence would be chiefly in the apartments of his royal mother by adoption, where he would be furnished with every luxury. . . . Like other children, he would have to learn to read and write; and I think that he would have been taught both the hieroglyphic and hieratic writing, particularly the latter, which was a cursive hand used for correspondence and business purposes. As a prince, doubtless, it would have been necessary for him to master the hieroglyphic writing, in order that he might read the inscriptions on the monuments and tombs. . . . After being trained by his private tutors, he would be sent to one of the two great Universities which were at On and at Hermopolis. Tradition says that Heliopolis was chosen; it was nearer to Memphis than Hermopolis and would have a special attraction for any Hebrew youth, as Joseph's wife was a daughter of the priest of On. . . . . At this University there can be no doubt that Moses completed his education as a *lay student,* for we cannot conceive of his becoming a priest" (*op. cit.,* pp., 308, 310, 314-5).

4. *Was the Law Originally Written in the Egyptian Hieratic?*

But we desire to know more especially whether in receiving the laws, Moses actually engraved them on stone in the complicated Egyptian script. It must be remembered that the usual writing material in Egypt was papyrus and the brush, rather than stone and the stylus. And yet a large number of lapidarian records of all kinds has come down to us, some of them of a character similar to what the situation in the time of Moses allowed. In fact some of the inscriptions were cut in limestone or rather scratched thereon with little labor. One need but examine the Egyptian inscriptions in the British Museum, or the Louvre, or in the large universities in this country to be convinced that the Egyptian scribes attained wonderful skill in cutting pictures of birds, animals and natural objects.

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[17] Some of these traditions merit reproduction here. It is affirmed that he was educated at Heliopolis (Strabo 17: 1) and grew up there as a priest with the Egyptian name Osarsiph (Manetho, *apud Jos. c. Ap. I:* 26, 28, 31). He was instructed in the whole range of Egyptian and Babylonian literature. From the Egyptians he learned Mathematics, in order to test truth accurately (Philo, *Vita M.* I, 5). He imparted a knowledge of grammar to the Hebrews, whence it spread to Phœnicia and Greece (Eupol. *apud Clem. Alex.* Strom. I). He headed a successful expedition against the Ethiopians and founded the city of Hermopolis (Jos. *Ant.* II: 10).

Indeed the task of merely cutting the characters was not difficult unless the stone happened to be unusually hard and flinty. Not a few of the inscriptions are on limestone, a comparatively tractable material. Moses must have possessed the skill of at least the average Egyptian schoolboy or workman, who scratched hieroglyphics everywhere.

In the account of the giving of the law it is said: "And the tables were the work of God and the writing was the writing of God graven upon the tables" (Ex. 32: 16). The ascription of the writing to God is an anthropomorphism which need occasion no difficulty here. God is represented as doing what his agent Moses does. The words, "graven upon the tables", if interpreted strictly, would mean that they were cut in the stone. The Hebrew word *haruth* (found only here in the O. T.), rendered "graven", but practically the same as *harash*, means to cut on wood, stone or stucco. The situation would seem to demand that Moses had with him or prepared on the moment stone tablets into which the letters were cut. It is known that scribes went about supplied with writing material suitable for any emergency.

Another explanation has been suggested. In Deut. 27: 2, 3, we read: "Thou shalt set thee up great stones, and plaster them with plaster: and thou shalt write upon them all the words of this law, when thou are passed over". On this, Driver says: "That is, coat them with lime or gypsum, in order to secure a surface on which the writing inscribed might be clearly legible. The letters were not to be carved in the stone (as is usually the case in ancient inscriptions), but to be inscribed, with some suitable pigment, upon a prepared surface. The practice was Egyptian".[18] It is possible that Moses had small stone tablets which he covered with plaster, on which the decalog was inscribed. Since this was a common Egyptian practice, with which Moses was acquainted, the writing of the law was not the extremely difficult task which it is sometimes represented to have been.

(1). *Size and Weight of the Original Tables of the Law.* Reuss urges an objection requiring consideration here. He claims that the tables of the Law, if containing originally the full text of Ex. 20, would be too heavy to be carried by an octogenarian. He assumes that the 620 letters of the Hebrew text would occupy at least a square metre and a half of surface, counting 25 square centimeters for each letter.[19] Accordingly the decalog occupied more than 16 square feet of surface, and each table must have been four feet long and two wide. Stone tables of such weight and size would probably be too heavy to be carried down a mountain side by one man.

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[18] *Deut.*, p., 296. Driver adds: "In Egypt it was the custom to put a layer of stucco, or paint, over the stone used in architecture, of whatever quality, even granite: and in the case of sandstone, which was porous, a coat of calcareous composition was laid on before the paint was applied. The black pigment, used in Egypt, consisted of ivory or black bone; and figures, or characters inscribed by this method were very permanent".

Concerning this hypothesis the following may be noted. Reuss supposes that 25 square centimeters or eight square inches and a fraction were necessary for each letter. This would mean that each letter was two and a half inches square — surely an extravagant assumption. One need but examine the ordinary Papyri, or the longer Egyptian documents, or better still, the so-called Israel Stele of Menerptah, to convince himself that the Egyptian characters are often very small, and that the space required for the Ten Words even in the Egyptian script is upon the whole within very moderate limits. From a comparison of representative inscriptions in Egyptian hieratic, cuneiform and Phœnician we reach the conclusion that one square inch for each letter is amply sufficient under the circumstances. Accordingly the whole of the decalog would require 620 square inches, or a surface about 25 inches square. Two tablets, then, each two feet and one inch long and a fraction over a foot wide, would contain the Ten Commandments. But Reuss ignores the fact that "the tables were written on both sides; on the one side and on the other were they written" (Ex. 32: 15). We may accordingly reduce the tablets by one-half, that is, each tablet would be a trifle over a foot in length and width, not much larger in fact, though somewhat heavier than a school-boy's slate. Tables of this size could easily be carried by Moses.[20]

(2) No Evidence of the Use of the Hieratic. If therefore the issue hinged on the mere possibility of the use of the Egyptian script by Moses, no serious objection could be urged. Unfortunately, we have nowhere any indication that the Egyptian script (whether hieroglyphic or hieratic) was at any time, either in the Mosaic or any later age, employed by the Hebrews in their sacred books. It probably was used occasionally in the pre-Mosaic period in the transcription of proper names, but not in the writing of Hebrew narratives. But in the event of its use, as Reuss well says, there must have been a time when the Hebrews exchanged it for the Phœnician script. Of this we we have no proof whatever.

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[19] "Ce texte se compose de 620 lettres. Avec l'écriture carrée actuelle, ce texte, en ne tenant aucan compte des marges et des interlignes (la séparation des mots n'etant pas d'usage) aurait demandé au moins un mètre carré et demi de superficies, même en ne calculant pour chaque lettre que l'espace minime de 25 cm. carrés" *(L'Histoire Sainte, int.,* p., 66).

[20] Substantially the same calculation would hold in case the decalog were written in cuneiform, or in Hebrew.

D. THE HEBREWS AND THE BABYLONIAN LANGUAGE AND SCRIPT.

Since the discovery of the Amarna Letters the opinion has gradually gained ground that Moses and the early Old Testament writers employed the Babylonian language and script for literary purposes. The cuneiform script was current in Palestine from the middle of the third millennium down to and including the Amarna period (1400 B. C.). How much later is a matter of dispute. It is probable that it continued in use several centuries longer. The recent discovery of the Gezer and other cuneiform inscriptions would indicate that here and there the Babylonian language was employed after the occupation by the Israelites. As one's position on this subject will determine in some measure his attitude on the antiquity of Hebrew literature in general and the character of Mosaic literature in particular, we inquire into the facts.

1. *The Library Chest of Tell Taanach.*

The cuneiform tablets recently discovered at Tell Taannek, the Biblical Taanach, in the plain of Jezreel, prove, it is alleged, that the Babylonian language and script were employed quite generally in Canaan some time after the Amarna period. Ernst Sellin, a German archæologist, unearthed in 1902—4 the ancient city, which flourished from 2000 to 600 B. C. In one of the structures, identified through the peculiar stone architecture, as old Canaanite, Sellin found a library chest of the Prince of Taanach, which contained several clay tablets recording the names of persons. Near-by, two letters and other inscriptions on clay tablets were discovered.[21] The writing is in the Babylonian language and script. Sellin conjectures that originally the library contained other valuable writings which by some mischance were lost.

From internal evidence, Sellin assigns the tablets to a period some 50 years after the Amarna Letters. It is of the greatest significance, he remarks, that the correspondence between the native princes was in the Babylonian language, for hereafter no one can affirm that the cuneiform was employed only in foreign correspondence, and not among the people. Though the large tablets are greatly mutilated, it is certain that they contain lists of names sent to the ruler of Taanach. In a later monograph, Sellin returns to the language and script of the tablets, declaring that the paramount value of the discovery lies in the fact that we now see how extensively in that age writing was carried on in the cuneiform script, even in a country district of Palestine.[22]

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[21] See *Tell Taannek*, von E. Sellin, Wien, 1904. Also *Eine Nachlese auf dem Tell Taannek in Palaestina.*

These tablets render it clear that Babylonian was employed in a Canaanite town in 1350; but do they prove that the men of Taanach did not speak the Canaanite language or write in the Phœnician script? Not at all. The fact that many German books and periodicals are published in this country is no proof that English is not the language of the United States. We must suppose that the Canaanite language of this date (as also the Hebrew, if the Exodus had already taken place), the language of the mass of the people, was sufficiently distinct from the Babylonian to be regarded as a separate language with its own script. Nothing in the above tablets indicates that when the people of Taanach or any other Palestinian town wrote they employed the cuneiform script.

2. *The Gezer Cuneiform Tablets.*

The Panbabylonists claim to have received strong support from some recently discovered cuneiform tablets in Palestine. Of these, the most important, perhaps, are the Gezer tablets found by Macalister. They are deeds of the sale of land, which are supposed to have been prepared for ancient dwellers of the place. "The dates of these documents are 651 and 649 and they prove that under Ashurbanipal, fields at Gezer, one of which belonged to a man with a Jewish name Nathaniah, were sold, and the sales were registered, according to Assyrian formulas in the Assyrian language and in the one case by a notary with so unmistakable an Assyrian name as Nirgal-Sharzzur" (G. A. Smith). This discovery shows that the Assyrian language was used in a town 20 miles from Jerusalem as late as the middle of the seventh century B. C. (*i. e.* on the assumption, denied by some, that the tablets were produced in Gezer, and not carried thither from some other place). But it does not show that the cuneiform was then or at any time ordinarily employed by the people of Gezer.

We may account in several ways for the use of the Assyrian language in these tablets. Although Gezer was a Levitical city, it did not come permanently into the possession of the

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[22] "I am aware that skeptics will regard the 7 foreign and 5 native letters as isolated incidents, and the correspondence as an exceptional peculiarity of the Prince. But these tablets together with those of Amarna and Lachish prove that the Babylonian script was employed by the Canaanite princes in 1350; and in fact no other was known to them" *(Eine Nachlese auf dem Tell Taannek in Palaes.).*

Israelites until the time of Solomon (Josh. 21 : 21; 1 K. 9: 16). Afterward during the Assyrian domination, it became a seat of Assyrian influence and of the Ashtoreth (Astarte) religion. In fact Macalister was so fortunate as to find the foundation of the temple of Astarte in Gezer. "Gezer down to the Babylonian Exile was a center of the Baal-Ashtoreth cult".[23] All this implies an influential, if not a large Assyrian population; there need be no surprise, therefore, at the use of the Assyrian language under the circumstances; but it must have been exceptional in Palestine.

The political and religious situation in Judah in the seventh century throws light on the subject. The early years of the long reign of Manasseh (697-641) witnessed the introduction of Assyrian customs. The armies of Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal overran all Palestine. Ahaz had imported Assyrian models in the furnishings of the Temple, and Manasseh "reared up altars for Baal, and made an Asherah, as did Ahab, king of Israel, and worshipped all the host of heaven, and served them" (2 K. 21: 3). Assyria being dominant, it is natural that here and there Assyrian soldiers should remain in Palestine and retain for a while their mother tongue. It is even possible that not a few may have settled there, or that an Assyrian garrison was quartered there, as suggested by Gray.[24]

Benzinger, however, holds that the custom of writing such compacts in the Assyrian language in Palestine dates from an early period and that the hypothesis of an Assyrian garrison does not meet the conditions of the case. The dominance of the Assyrians in Palestine and the tendency to ape foreign customs would encourage the use of the Assyrian in a deed of sale to which one of the parties was an Assyrian. So much certainly must be granted; but this is far from proving the proposition that the Assyrian language was employed at this time by the Israelites in general. In fact the Gezer Calendar inscription and the Samaria ostraca written in archaic Hebrew letters are incontrovertible proof that the Hebrews two centuries before the period in question employed in public as well as private affairs the Hebrew language and script.

3. *Babylonian Language in Use in Israel.*

We must again remind the reader that the problem before us is the determination of the original form of the early Hebrew writings and of the mode of preserving ancient Hebrew records — surely a vital question for all Old Testament students. In this section we inquire to what extent, if at all, the Hebrews were acquainted with and employed the Babylonian language and script in addition to their native language.

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[23] G. A. Barton, *Bib. World,* XXIV, p., 167—9. See, further, Macalister, *Pal. Ex. F. Quar. St.,* Oct., 1902.

[24] "What more probable than that an Assyrian garrison was resident there and that Assyrian parties to the deed of sale employed an Assyrian notary? Certain it is that some of the signatures bear pure Assyrian names, certain also that one bears a Jewish name" (G. B. Gray, *Expositor,* May, 1909).

(1). Babylonian Language during the Exile. Did the Hebrews during the Exile learn the Babylonian language and script? Yes![25] say some recent writers. No![26] say others. Col. Conder writes: "It is evident that during the Captivity the Jews must have been familiar with the use of brick tablets, and of the cuneiform script; for these were the official methods of the Babylonians, and were used also in trading transactions of the age" *(op. cit.,* p., 20). To what extent the Jews of the Exile mingled with Babylonians and studied Babylonian literature is not known definitely; but it is probable that the more enterprising spirits came under the influence of Babylonian thought. At the same time, the Jews formed practically a community by themselves. "The first thing that strikes us is the fact that in some way from the very beginning the solidarity of the survivors of Israel was maintained. There was no obliteration of any large number at any time. . . . . On the whole the Hebrew society held well together in exile. The fidelity with which the family records and genealogies were kept was both cause and effect of this social survival" (McCurdy, *Hist. Proph. Mon.,* III, 351, 353).

The Exile was for the Hebrews a period of no little literary activity, both in arranging and editing the ancient scriptures and in producing new works.[27] It is natural, too, that they would be influenced by the literary methods of their neighbors. It is probable that the Hebrew scribes, priests and prophets acquired a knowledge of the Babylonian, but we have no trace in the exilic or post-exilic books that the Hebrews, even if conversant with Babylonian literature, used this language in any of their writings.[28] We know that they gradually came to use the Aramaic, for parts of the Old Testament are written in that dialect. Until more definite proof is forthcoming, the view of Conder that the Jews as a community were familiar with the cuneiform must be pronounced premature.[29]

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[25] *The First Bible.* Col. C. R. Conder. Blackwoods, London.

[26] Strack, Koenig, Kittel.

[27] "A special incentive was the habit of writing, almost universal among the people of the land, and necessarily made general among the Hebrews as they came to be engaged in varied business. Add to this the effect upon a gifted people of a literary atmosphere and of a great literature of immemorial antiquity" (McCurdy, *op. cit.,* p., 382).

[28] Lack of space forbids a discussion of the Graf-Wellhausen dictum that not a little of the Priest Code (as *e. g.* the account of the creation, the flood, etc.,) was derived from Babylonian sources during the Exile. It must suffice to remark that the thesis has never been proved.

[29] In fact even in Babylonia during the Exile the language of the people was largely Aramaic. "The tongue of the common people seems to have been Aramaic,

(2). Babylonian Language among the Hebrews in Assyrian Period. The advocates of the Panbabylonist hypothesis derive alleged support from the state of religion and society in Judah in the so-called later Assyrian period (735-609). According to Benzinger: "Two things are clear: the script of Canaan in the Amarna period was the cuneiform; the Israelites brought with them no other script of their own from the desert into the land of culture, but adopted the one current there. This does not, however, exclude the claim that the alphabetic script was known at an earlier period in Canaan. There, too, it was originally the vulgar script in contrast with the official cuneiform script employed for all official documents, compacts, etc. . . . . In the period of dependence on Assyria (since Jehu, 842) the cuneiform writing again came into use; when Jehu paid tribute to Assyria, the two courts must have had regular communication, and this was naturally in the cuneiform script" *(Heb. Achaeol., 2te Auf.,* S., 176).

Referring to the Gezer cuneiform tablets, Benzinger continues: "This shows that the custom of preparing such deeds descends from the remote past, as also that the cuneiform script was employed for this purpose. But the cuneiform script was also the script of law and tribunals, and not merely of international communication. Just as kings and princelings in the Amarna age had secretaries who could conduct correspondence in this foreign language and script, so there were at tribunals (in Israel) similar learned scribes conversant with the script and language. But the writing at tribunals is the sacred writing, for justice is a part of religion, in Israel as elsewhere. It is in fact the writing of God (Ex. 31: 18; 32: 16). It is therefore the writing of the learned. . . . . In Israel as in Babylonia the alphabetic script was in early times the *vulgar* script, which served originally the purposes of business life. It was at the same time the national script, in opposition to the cuneiform, because it allowed the use of the native language. . . . . Josiah's reform, which at the same time implied a breaking away from Assyria, may also have signalized the end of the cuneiform script and the recognition of the national al-

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which eventually crowded out the Babylonian with its most difficult cuneiform script. The intercommercial use of the language, the fact that many Western Semites had emigrated to this region, and that for writing purposes the Aramaic with its short alphabet was infinitely easier to learn than the difficult cuneiform script with its five hundred characters, give us reasons for the theory that the Aramaic gradually supplanted the Babylonian as the spoken language of the land" (Clay, *Light on O. T.,* p., 397).

phabet. That Jeremiah wrote the purchase deed of his land in cuneiform is scarcely probable, Jer. 32: 10" *(op. cit.,* 177).[30]

The points of special interest in Benzinger's position are that among the Hebrews the Phœnician script was at first and indeed for an indefinite period regarded as a "vulgar" or "demotic", and the cuneiform as the "official" or "sacred" script; and that only at a late period (just before the Exile) was the Babylonian language and script supplanted by the Hebrew. We review these allegations in detail.

a. Had the Hebrews ever a Hieratic Script? The hypothesis of a variety of scripts in Israel is not in itself impossible or without precedent. The Egyptians had a sacred or hieratic script, employed by the priestly class, and a demotic, or vulgar script in use among the people. Other instances might be cited, but the custom is exceptional. That the Hebrews ever made such a distinction is improbable, and must be established by evidence. Is there such?[31]

A passage in Isaiah, always variously interpreted, is now cited in support of the new view. In 8: 1 we read: "Take thee a great tablet and write with the pen of a man, etc." The Revised Version, margin, has "in common characters". What is the meaning of this? Evidently the "great tablet" is a tablet of wood, stone, clay or metal sufficiently large to contain an inscription to be set up in a public place and easily read by the people. The writing "with the pen of a man" was understood by all the older authorities as denoting large and plainly written letters in the archaic Hebrew script. Thus Skinner says: "Easily legible and understood by the people. Such a direction bears witness to an extensive knowledge of writing in Isaiah's time" *(Camb. Bib.,* 65). According to Dillmann it is "a script cut with a stylus, *i. e.* characters which the common man (Deut. 3: 11; 2 S. 7: 14; Hos. 6: 7) can read; probably not in contrast with a smaller cursive script of the learned, or even in the archaic Hebrew script compared with the Aramaic, but simply in a plain script easily read by the people" *(Kom.,* p., 76). The natural meaning is that the prophet shall write the message in clear and bold characters.

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[30] Why not go the whole length of the hypothesis, as Winckler does, and hold that he did? What Benzinger says as to the scope of Josiah's reform is also without the shadow of proof.

[31] The alleged Hebrew custom is really not parallel to the Egyptian, for while in the latter case various scripts were employed to write the same language, in the former it is the Babylonian language and script which is said to be "sacred" and the Heb. lang. and script "the vulgar" or "demotic".

In opposition to this we are told: "The prophet Isaiah is expressly commanded to write in the 'script of a man', that is in the *vulgar* [Phœnician] script" (Benzinger). The same opinion is expressed by Jeremias, who suggests that if the phrase "the pen of a man" designate the archaic Hebrew script in contrast with the cuneiform, the latter in Isaiah's time would be regarded as a sacred or hieratic script. In that event, says Jeremias, the words, "graven upon the tables (Ex. 32: 16)", would be a circumlocution for "cuneiform script".[32] Neither Benzinger nor Jeremias offers any direct proof that such a distinction ever obtained in Israel.

If we understand Benzinger and Jeremias they intend to convey the impression that the prophet, if not otherwise directed, would have employed the Babylonian-Assyrian language in uttering the prophecy, and this would imply that his prophecies were written in that language. Is this probable? Is there anything to support such a view? Is there a shadow of proof that Isaiah could write the cuneiform? In any event prophecies written in a foreign tongue and script would have been sealed letters to the people.

b. Further Consideration of Babylonian-Assyrian Language in Israel. Again, we are told: "That the Aramæan language was known to the upper classes in Jerusalem in the days of Hezekiah is definitely stated in the Bible (2 K. 18: 16; Is. 36: 11) and it appears equally clear that the cuneiform script was also understood by the Jews of this age 2 K. 19: 14; Is. 37: 14)" (Conder, *op. cit.*, p., 22). The letter (Heb. *hassepharim,* letters, referred to in the two immediately preceding passages cited by Conder) sent by Sennacharib to Hezekiah was probably, though not certainly, written in the Assyrian language and script. In that event it would be translated by the court scribes. But since Aramaic was the language of international communication in the eighth century, the letter may have been in that language and script, which was current throughout the East and of course well understood in Jerusalem. The same is true, *mutatis mutandis,* of the "letters" sent by Merodach-Baladan to Hezekiah (2 K. 20: 12). These passages indicate that in all probability the Assyrian language was understood at the court of Hezekiah, but they do not prove that the people in general understood it. According to 2 K. 18: 26, the people did not understand Aramaic; and it is less likely that they understood the Assyrian.[33]

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[32] A. Jeremias, *Das A. T. im Lich. d. Orients,* 424.

Benzinger's statements that the Assyrian language was understood at the court of Jehu and that the Gezer cuneiform tablets are proof of the use of cuneiform in drawing up deeds may be allowed; but this by no means shows that the *"Keilschrift"* was ever officially adopted by the Hebrews or formed any appreciable element in their national life. Benzinger has in no way proved that the writing of the Hebrew court was in cuneiform, that the prophets employed it, that it was *"auch in Israel die Schrift der Religion und der Verwaltung bis auf Hiskia"*, or that the Hebrews at the time of Isaiah or in any period of their history distinguished between a *sacred* (cuneiform) and a *vulgar* (Phœnician) script. He merely assumes what the whole Graf-Kuenen-Wellhausen school has all along assumed, that the Hebrews at the Exodus were too ignorant and illiterate to have acquired the Phœnician script, or he adopts with the same negative school the exploded hypothesis that the Phœnician script was not invented until about 1200 B. C. and did not reach the Hebrews at the earliest until 1000 B. C., and then only through the Canaanites".

c. Winckler's Hypothesis. Benzinger and Jeremias adopt substantially the hypothesis announced by Hugo Winckler several years ago, that the cuneiform was employed by the Hebrews until about the time of the Exile. His thesis runs thus: The alphabet was employed in Canaan as a "vulgar" script in opposition to the cuneiform, the script of government and letters. The "demotic" script sustained the same relation to the cuneiform as the language of the people in the Middle Ages to the Latin of the learned professions, for the alphabet was employed from the first in the popular language, that is Canaanite, and then Hebrew and Aramaic. Assuming that cuneiform writing was employed in Israel for the same purpose as in the Euphrates valley, Winckler seeks to determine when it was supplanted by the Phœnician or "vulgar" script. Since the earliest inscriptions in the Phœnician script are later than 1000 B. C., Winckler holds that the period of its use in Israel runs parallel with the decline of Assyrian influence.[34]

Winckler allows that meanwhile of course the Phœnician script was used in the "monumental records" of the kings, but that this does not imply its use as the medium of expression in education and religion. One may ask, Why not? If it could be employed in the former case, why not in the latter? The

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[33] "There are many known facts concerning the use of Aramaic in Babylonia, Assyria, and Palestine, which in the centuries before and after the Exile are suggestive of a very general usage of the language. We can infer that Aramaic was the language of diplomacy in the time of Sennacherib from the episode in 2 K. 18: 26" (Clay, *Light* etc., p., 396).

[34] See *"Der Gebrauch der Keilschrift bei den Juden"* in *Altorientalische Forschungen*, III, 165—76. Von Hugo Winckler.

Gezer Calendar tablet and the Samaria ostraca, as well as the Jeroboam and other early seals clearly refute Winckler. One can indeed, says Winckler, compose government orders and historical reports in a cultureless language, but not real literature. But surely the Hebrew of the David-Hezekiah period was as perfect and highly cultivated a language as the Assyrian of that age; and as to literary quality the early Old Testament books are at least on a par with, if not superior to, the best Babylonian-Assyrian literature.

(a). *Winckler on Is. 8: 1; 8: 16.* The only proof that Winckler considers it necessary to adduce is the affirmation that Is. 8: 1 implies a distinction between a "sacred" and a "vulgar" language and script and that Is. 8: 16 refers to a tablet prepared in the Assyrian manner. Instead of the usual rendering, "bind up the testimony, seal the tablet among my disciples" (8: 16) Winckler by an arbitrary emendation of the Hebrew translates: "description (of the compact), witnesses, seal, legal conditions and scholar". The latter, we are told, is the Assyrian *dupsar,* the learned scribe who drew up the document in cuneiform, not in Hebrew. The conclusion is reached that the Israelites made use of tablets and writing material in the manner of the Assyrians, a proposition which might have been sustained without a mutilation of the Hebrew text, but which does not prove what Winckler asserts.

(b). *Winckler on Jeremiah 32: 10.* Jeremiah 32: 10: "And I subscribed the deed, and sealed it, and called witnesses and weighed him the money in the balances", is adduced by Winckler in support of his view. The common interpretation of this transaction is as follows: "Jeremiah made out and signed in the presence of witnesses, whose signatures were added, two copies of the deed of purchase, specifying the particulars of the land, and the conditions under which he bought it. He then caused one of the deeds to be sealed up and the other left open, the former to be referred to, in case at any time it were suspected that the latter had been tampered with" (Streane, *Jeremiah,* 210). Winckler, however, holds that "we have to do with a clay tablet which like the archaic Babylonian tablets consists of an *inner* tablet and an outer covering, both of which contain the same text. Of these the outer one is sealed. This is called here the open one". W. adds: "The sealing implies clay, for otherwise something would be said of the material to be sealed". It is not clear what Winckler aims to establish by showing that the "deed" was on clay tablets; the traditional view does not hinge on the contention that parchment or papyrus was used exclusively by the Hebrews, though the narrative in Jer. 36: 2 f implies a parchment roll. The Hebrews used also stone and clay for writing. Winckler himself says: "Manifestly it does not follow from the use of the double clay tablet, that it was written in the cuneiform script. This is excluded by the date under consideration." That is, in the time of Jeremiah both the Hebrew language and the Phœnician script were employed even in legal documents. For aught to the contrary they might also have been employed by Isaiah a century earlier and even in the time of David.

Winckler finally suggests two dates when the Phœnician became the official script of the Hebrews: "We have between Isaiah and Jeremiah two occasions when the new style may have been introduced: *first,* in the time of Hezekiah's legislation, which was based presumably on the Book of the Jehovist (J); or, *second,* the Book of Deut. in the time of Josiah. The former seems more probable; because Hezekiah's reform represents the first positive act of Judah in contrast with the dependence on Assyria under Ahaz". It has been shown that not only had the Hebrew language and Phœnician script been employed in Israel in early times for the purposes assigned by Winckler to the cuneiform, but also that they had become the language and script of law, literature, education and religion as early as the time of Solomon, and probably at the Exodus.

(3). No Babylonian Influence in Early Regal Period. Even if it be found that Assyrian influence in Israel in the time of Jehu and Hezekiah may have led to the use of the Assyrian language in diplomacy, no trace of such tendency exists in the pre-Assyrian period (1037-875). The Hebrews were left to develope their own national life and consciousness without any perceptible foreign interference. This is the period when they cultivated in a special sense their native literature, historical, prophetical and poetical. The language was the Hebrew, the script the Phœnician. This is shown archæologically by the Siloam inscription (700 B. C.), the Gezer Calendar tablet (800), the Samaria ostraca (850), the Jeroboam seal (920), and indirectly by the Moabite Stone (900) and the Baal Lebanon inscription (1000).

There is absolutely no trace in any inscription thus far unearthed that the Hebrews of this period employed the cuneiform in their literature. Even Benzinger and Winckler concede that "the earliest extant monuments in the alphabetic script, the royal inscriptions of Mesha and of Zinjirli", prove a temporary decline in Assyrian influence in the period subsequent to 1000. But Benzinger holds that this by no means proves that the cuneiform "disappeared from religious use in the temple and from official use in legal documents". What evidence does he offer that the *Keilschrift* still retained (if indeed it ever acquired) a footing in Israel? None whatever.[35]

4. *Early Old Testament Books in Cuneiform.*

The possibilities of the cuneiform have led some to argue that Moses wrote his laws in the cuneiform script. Lately two

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[35] It is not unlikely that the scribes and men of letters in Israel from Abraham to Moses, Joshua, David and Hezekiah, understood the cuneiform; but the contention here is that the Old Testament was a native product written originally in the Hebrew language and script.

English scholars, Col. C. R. Conder and Prof. A. H. Sayce have defended (independently, it seems) the view that at least the early Old Testament books were composed in the Babylonian-Assyrian language and the cuneiform script.[36]

(1). Conder's Argument from Proper Names. Conder argues that the forms of some proper names "seem to suggest that the character used in the original tablets of the law, and in their early chronicles on clay was the cuneiform script which prevailed in the days of Moses" *(First Bible,* 95). He holds that the variant orthography of Azariah and Uzziah,[37] Michal and Merob, Bathsheba and Bathshua and a dozen other proper names is due to scribal mistakes in reading the value of the cuneiform signs. Conder's view that the "Osnapper" of Ezra 4: 10 is really an alternative reading of the cuneiform signs for Assurbanipal is probably correct.[38]

Having examined some 20 proper names, Conder reaches the conclusion that the Hebrews knew at least two scripts from the time of Solomon, one the cuneiform, "the divine writing", the other, the Phœnician, "the writing of common men". "The discrepancies in personal names, and in other words not of common occurrence, indicate clearly that a character was in use which was not alphabetic, and in which the signs had more than one sound. . . . . The uncertainties are clearly traced, on the assumption that this character was the Babylonian cuneiform" (p., 137, *op. cit.).*

Conder's examples are too few to warrant the hazardous conclusions drawn by him. It would seem that foreign proper names were often either differently pronounced or imperfectly understood by Biblical writers, and so confusion would naturally arise. In a few cases the discrepancy may be due to a mistaken reading of a cuneiform text; but neither Benzinger nor Conder has shown that any Old Testament book or any part thereof was composed in cuneiform.

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[36] In the Amarna Letters the scribes frequently reproduce Canaanite (Hebrew) words in cuneiform characters. Thus after *shadi* (mountain) stands frequently the Hebrew *charri* (mountain) in cuneiform. So after *chalgat* (perish) we have the Heb. *abada* (perish); after *epiru* (dust) *aparu;* after *elippu* (ship), Canaanite gloss *anay; sisu* (horse), Cannanite *susu,* etc. See a full list in Schrader, KAT, 3 ed., p., 652. Even the word Canaan, Heb. *Kanaan* appears in a quite similar form *Kinachi.* The scribes wishing to leave no doubt as to the meaning inserted the native Canaanite word. These glosses prove that the language of Canaan in the 15th cent. B. C. was essentially the same as that spoken by the Phœnicians, Moabites and Hebrews several centuries later. The large number of Hebrew words in the Amarna Letters proves that already in 1400 Canaanite or Hebrew had substantially the same stock of words as are found in the Pentateuch.

[37] This king's name occurs in the records of Tiglath-Pileser III as *'Az-ri-ya-a-hu.* But the sign *ri* has also the sounds *es* and *sa,* so that the reading *'Az-sa-ya-a-hu,* or Uzziah, is also possible.

[38] The name Assurbanipal does not occur in the Bible, but Conder reproduces cuneiform signs which might be read either *Assurbanipal* or *Asnappar.* Though the letter of which Ez. 4: 10 forms a part was written in the Aramaic language and script, Conder writes: "The letter itself would probably be in cuneiform; for the Babylonian type of this script was commonly employed for official documents by the Semitic subjects even of the Persian Artaxerxes I. Such letters were copied in many known cases, and a copy seems to have fallen into the hands of the Jews" *(op. cit.,* p., 111).

(2). Hebrew Text Paraphrased from an Assyrian Original. A somewhat similar type of Panbabylonism has recently been championed by Prof. A. H. Sayce, who comes forward with the hypothesis that "if there are any records in the Old Testament earlier than the time of David they will have been written on clay tablets in the Assyrian language and script. And careful investigation of the text of the books of the Old Testament brings phenomena to light which can be explained only on the supposition that the Hebrew text has been translated or paraphrased from an Assyrian original".[39] Examining the text of the Old Testament with the view of discovering how far it can readily be turned into Assyrian, he claims to have found a number of words which imply an Assyrian original. Thus the confusion of Ham and Ammi, Zuzim and Zamzumin, in Gen. 15: 5 and Deut. 2: 20, is supposed to imply a translation from the Assyrian. In Gen. 11: 29 the phrase "the father or Iscah" is but a repetition of "the father of Milcah" through failure to note that the same cuneiform character has the phonetic value of both *is* and *mil*.

Commenting on 2 S. 8: 1 ("David took the bridle of the mother city out of the hand of the Philistines"), Sayce writes: "Metheg-ammah has no sense in Hebrew, and the attempts made to explain it have consequently been failures. The two words, however, are simply a transliteration of two Assyrian words which signify 'the military road of the mainland' of Palestine". But the word, literally 'the bridle of the mother city', may be used metaphorically in the sense of authority, jurisdiction, as indicated in the parallel passage 1 C. 18: 1, "David took Gath and its towns out of the hands of the Philistines".[40] The passage is not decisive for the new view.

We are told that *zohar*, Gen 6: 16 rendered "window" is "not a Hebrew word at all but merely a transliteration of the Assyrian *zuhru*, a ridged roof". But since it occurs as a Canaanite gloss in the Amarna Letters (157, 11), it was doubtless used also in Hebrew, though like many Hebrew words ultimately derived from a Babylonian root. The same is true of *ed,* mist, Gen. 2: 6.

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[39] *Homiletic Review*, LX, pp., 100-104).

[40] A similar expression, 'holding the bridle of countries', is found in Arabic writers. See Lane, *Arabic Lexicon*, p., 1249; Shultens on Job 30: 11 and Koehler *Gesch.* II, 244.

Something can be said in favor of Sayce's explanation of the *crux* in Gen. 4: 22, "a hammerer of every artificer in bronze and iron". Says Sayce: "The two Hebrew words for 'hammerer' and 'artificer' are alike translations of the same Assyrian original; they were alternative renderings which were subsequently combined in the same text".

Prof. Sayce has worked in this field many years and discovered some strange phenomena, but, as he himself says, "the work is far from finished, and it is too early to announce general results"; nevertheless, from less than a score of passages presented thus far, he would have us accept the sweeping generalization that by his discovery "the foundations of the Higher Criticism and its theories will be destroyed together with the originality of the Hebrew text upon which they have been built".

Unfortunately, the same line of argument would prove that the later historical books, no less than the earlier, must have been composed in the Assyrian and afterward translated into Hebrew. Kings, and Chronicles, exhibit even in greater degree phenomena similar to those which Sayce finds in the Hexateuch, Judges and Samuel. Thus 1 C. 18 (parallel to 2 S. 8) has a number of alternative forms which might with equal plausibility be traced to an Assyrian original. A comparison of Beth-lebaoth, Josh. 19: 6 and Beth-biri, 1 C. 4: 31; of Gath-rimmon,[41] Josh. 21: 25 and Bileam, 1 C. 6: 70; of Jokneam,[42] Josh. 21: 34 and Rmmono, 1 C. 6: 77 (which are hardly mere scribal errors) might lead one to infer that the discrepancies are due to a misreading of an assumed Assyrian original. Sayce's argument proves too much.

Of the six ways of spelling the name of a Babylonian king in the Hebrew Bible the form Nebuchadrezzur (Jer. 49: 28), as nearest the Babylonian form, is probably the most correct. It might, therefore, be argued that since this form occurs in Jeremiah, the prophecy was originally written in cuneiform; but nothing could be more absurd. Such isolated examples prove merely, that now one, now another orthography was preferred by the Hebrew writers.[43]

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[41] If the name be turned into cuneiform, it can be read either *Bil-im,* or *Gat-Rimmono.*

[42] The cuneiform might be transliterated either as *Akanam* or *Rammuano.*

While questioning that Sayce has proved his thesis, we allow that he and others have brought support to our contention, that the Hebrew Scriptures, first and last, were composed in the Hebrew language and the archaic Phœnician script, but that at least in the early period, less so in the later, the authors and compilers had access to old sources, sometimes in Babylonian-Assyrian, but usually in Hebrew. We agree with Strack: "Proof is lacking that the Israelites after the Conquest made use of the cuneiform writing in any perceptible degree. The conjecture put forth by Englishmen and by Winckler that the decalog was originally written in the cuneiform script is devoid of the slightest proof" (Herzog, *RE* 3rd Ed.).

Koenig in opposing the Winckler hypothesis shows that the Canaanite-Hebrew language was indigenous in Canaan from the time of Abraham. "The Abrahamites brought with them their own native language which was closely related to the Phœnician. The degree of relationship of the Hebrew with the Phœnician was once for all settled by Stade; and the same conclusion is reached from the fact that in the intercourse between the Hebrews and the Canaanites no interpreter is implied" (See art. on *"Die Bab. Schrift u. Sprache u. d. Original-Gestalt d. Hebrae. Schrifttums"*, in *"Zeits. d. Deut. M. Gesellsc.*, 1910, pp., 715-32). In opposition to Naville's fancy that Deborah's Ode was composed in cuneiform, Koenig points out that the style and language are similar to those of other old Hebrew writings. See Num. 21: 14; 18: 27-30; Deut. 33; Josh. 10: 13. "There is no positive ground to deny to the Mosaic age the use of the Hebrew as a literary language."[44]

5. *Assyrian and Hebrew Languages Side by Side in Israel.*

What must be our conclusion on the use of the Babylonian-Assyrian language among the Hebrews? Much can be said in support of the view that the scribes and court officials in Israel understood this foreign language and script. The Amarna Tablets, the Taanach letters, the Gezer cuneiform tablets and various Old Testament passages warrant such an inference. The Hebrews were in fact throughout the greater part of their history a bi-lingual, and even tri-lingual people. Abraham spoke the Babylonian as well as the Hebrew-Aramaic dialects; Isaac and Jacob probably understood both the Babylonian and the Aramaic in addition to the Hebrew; (Jacob certainly understood the Aramaic spoken by Laban, Gen. 31 : 47). In Egypt Israel would retain the Hebrew and acquire to a greater or less degree also the Egyptian. During the Hyksos and Amarna periods we may be sure that the leading spirits of the tribes would learn the Babylonian. In the time of Hezekiah Aramaic was understood by the nobility of Jerusalem; and it would seem that Hebrew and Aramaic flourished side by side after the Exile. We know that in the time of Christ, Aramaic and Greek were well understood by the people of Palestine. Even today one meets in the East men and women who speak a half-dozen languages; and a similar proficiency may have been attained by the half-dozen affiliated Semitic peoples in the ancient Orient. The Hebrews have always been linguists, and we have no reason to suppose that the ancient Hebrews were inferior in this respect to the modern. We see nothing improbable, therefore in the claim that the Babylonian-Assyrian language was understood by Hebrew scribes and scholars from the Exodus [and even Abraham] to the Exile.

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[43] The king's name is variously written in the monuments. It is a singular fact that in one of the shorter forms we may read either *Nabu-cu-du-nazar* or *Nabu-cu-dur-iuzar,* which would indicate that the transliteration was not always the same.

[44] "Man kann in Israel auch schon in sehr alter Zeit, wie z. B. in den Tagen Moses, eine andere als die Bab. Schrift, also die althebraeische Schrift besessen haben. Diese Moeglichkeit muss offen gelassen werden."

The preceding inquiry establishes four propositions:

1. The foreign correspondence of Israel (in 1400-600 B. C.) was probably carried on in the Assyrian language and script.

2. It is not probable that the people as a class understood the Assyrian or that Hebrew history, legislation, prophecy or literature in general was written in this foreign and to the people unintelligible medium of expression.

3. The hypothesis that the early Old Testament books were composed in the Assyrian language and the cuneiform script is without substantial support.

4. The only conclusion validated by facts is that the books of the Old Testament, early and late, were written originally in the Hebrew language and script, except a few chapters in Ezra and Daniel (in Aramaic).

CHAPTER XII.

THE ANTIQUITY OF HEBREW LITERATURE.

We are now prepared to reconcile the antitheses of the antagonistic schools of Old Testament criticism mentioned at the outset (chap. I). Of the half dozen fundamental issues, only three demand consideration here: the mode of transmission of the early books (whether by written record, or oral tradition), the nature of Hebrew civilization in the Mosaic and the post-Mosaic age, and the extent of Hebrew literature in the pre-Davidic period. The answer to these questions will go far toward settling the underlying problems of Pentateuchal discussion.

I.

HEBREW CIVILIZATION IN THE PRE-DAVIDIC PERIOD.

A. ARE THE GENESIS NARRATIVES SAGAS AND LEGENDS, OR AUTHENTIC HISTORY?

Hermann Gunkel opens his elaborate Introduction to Genesis with the statement: "Does Genesis relate history, or saga? This question is no longer a question for the modern historian". Gunkel then proceeds to justify his conclusion that Genesis contains only saga, not history.[1]

The first of the three points in which saga and history differ, according to Gunkel, is that "originally the saga[2] exists as oral tradition, history in written form; the saga is employed by those who are unable to write, historical composition is a scientific process implying writing". Originally, however, an oral tradition may be just as accurate as a written document; the distinction lies in the fact that the former in the course of transmission is liable to great modification, while the latter is relatively permanent.[3] In general of course an ancient document has immense value over oral tradition, though exceptionally a genuine tradition outweighs a written statement. The question here is whether the Genesis narratives come under the head of authentic history (in oral or written form), or of saga, myth, legend.

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[1] *Genesis Uebersetzt u. Erklaert,* von H. Gunkel. The fact that the Grafians generally and especially their American representatives regard G's. Introduction as a better Gospel than the old, is our apology for reviewing it here.

[2] The dictionaries define saga as a tradition relating either mythical or historical events.

Gunkel declares: "If that which Genesis contains is oral tradition, it is saga". It may be saga (if the term be preferred) but saga may contain the essentials of history, and it has never yet been shown that Genesis is not substantially historical. Further, Gunkel assumes, without proving, that practically all of Genesis is "oral tradition". For him, "Genesis", "oral tradition", "saga" are convertible terms, and so the major part of his Introduction is a fine specimen of reasoning in a circle. He has at every point ignored the overwhelming evidence of the practice of writing among the Hebrews from the Abraham-Hammurabi period onward.

Moreover, through the longevity of the antediluvians and the patriarchs, the whole period from Adam to Noah can be bridged by three generations of oral transmission, and that between Shem and Abraham by two or three at most; in the period between Abraham and Moses there were unquestionably written sources. Gunkel and his school fail to note that the memory of the ancients was remarkably tenacious; the absence of writing does not necessarily imply myths and legends, but rather a faithful transmission of events for the very reason that men had to trust in the memory. The statement that "the writing-down of tradition serves to fix it", confirms the trustworthiness of Genesis, for Gunkel has not shown that the traditions are untrue; he merely assumes that some oral traditions are unsupported by written records and therefore unreliable — a palpable *non sequitur.*

Again, according to Gunkel, "the proper themes of history are *great public* events; the historian mentions private affairs only when they have value for public transactions. The saga treats of things of popular interest, personal and private" (*op. cit.,* p., XIII). But surely the restriction of history to "great" events is entirely arbitrary, as is also its limitation to the "publicity" of events. Personal and family events may be just as significant as wars and battles. In fact history has as its content *that which has happened.* According to Gunkel, "Genesis (with the exception of one chapter viz. XIV) contains no great political occurrences; its theme is the history, not of kings and princes, but chiefly of a private family; we have a mass of details, which, whether authentic or not, have for the most part no value directly or indirectly for real history".

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[3] "From a librarian's standpoint oral tradition is just as much a document as anything else, and a collection of oral traditions in a man's head just as much a library as a collection of written documents in a book-case. . . In the event of careful memorizing on the one hand, and careless or officious scribal work on the other, oral transmission of a given document may be more exact than written transmission" (E. C. Richardson on "Oral Tradition, Libraries and the Hexateuch", in *Princeton Theolg. Rev.,* III, p., 196).

But are not the accounts of the creation, fall, flood, dispersion, call of Abraham, his sojourn in Canaan, the Isaac-Jacob episodes, the Joseph narratives, genuine, even if largely, family history? Is not Abraham's faith an epoch in the world's history? Does not Genesis, even if cast in the mold of family and personal history, contain the material for a clear view of the course of events and of the real nature of the pre-Mosaic civilization? Is not history at bottom biography "writ large"?

But, says Gunkel, "the chief characteristic is the poetical tone of these narratives. Historical writing is essentially prose, the saga essentially poetry". Poetry is "the art of idealizing in thought and expression" *(Webster Dic.)*. The question is, whether Genesis is essentially an account of that which actually took place, or mere idealization? Genesis unquestionably contains poetry, both in matter and form, as 4: 23, 4; 9: 25-7; 27: 27-9; and especially chap. 49 and perhaps other parts; but the poetical sections are clearly distinguishable from the prose, and to characterize the body of Genesis as "poetical", is certainly a subjective and unwarranted judgment.[4]

It is true that "the lofty spirit of the Old Testament religion lends itself to a varied use of poetry", but the poetry of the Old Testament is only "a poetic reproduction of the religious history, or the poetic reproduction of the joy enkindled by such history, and a poetic outburst of the new inner life which was awakened by those historic experiences of Israel' (Koenig), as *e g.* in the Song of Moses, Ex. 15.

The logic of Gunkel runs thus: Genesis is saga; saga is poetry; therefore Genesis is poetry. Gunkel, indeed, says: *"Saga ist nicht Luege"* ("Saga is not falsehood"); neither is poetry "falsehood", but at the same time it is a product of the imagination and moves in the sphere, not so much of external facts, as of internal emotions. Saga, under any fair view of the term, as understood of the Genesis narratives, is not poetry, either in content or form. Poetry is "an imaginative and metrical collocation of words so marshaled as to excite the emotions"; saga is a simple, naive, prose narrative of actual (though somewhat embellished) events. Poetry is one thing; saga another. Gunkel himself in the commentary treats the narratives as prose, not poetry. His syllogism is false, notably in the minor premise, and so is false in the conclusion. The only alternative is, that Genesis contains authentic history.

Naturally on Gunkel's theory, we have no "historical facts" in Genesis, but at most only an indistinguishable blending of history and poetry. Gunkel criticizes Cornill and Steuernagel for finding at least a nucleus of historical data. None the less he allows that "he would indeed be a barbarian who would lightly esteem these sagas", for "they are after all more valuable than some prosaic statements regarding actual events"; but in the end we have only poetry, inspiring poetry to be sure, but still poetry, and not historical data. In short, says Gunkel, "Genesis is the literary deposit of oral, popular tradition". And yet we must assume that "in Israel, as among the Arabs, there was a guild of *history-narrators*. These men, versed in the old songs and sagas, went from place to place in the land and attended the festivals" (where they rehearsed the narratives). Gunkel allows that these sagas are ancient, those of chapters 1—11 having found their way to Canaan perhaps as early as 2000 B. C.[5]

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[4] Gunkel cannot quite accept the view of Sievers *(Metrische Studien)*, in his attempt to recast Genesis in a metrical form; but consistency on the part of G. would demand some such schematism.

Gunkel employs the term saga, Grafians generally the terms *myth* and *legend* for the matter in Genesis; but it comes to the same in the end, for both schools deny true historical value to the book. The logic of these men is: no written records in Israel before 1000 B. C., but merely oral tradition; no history, but much of saga, myth, legend. We have pointed out sufficiently that writing in cuneiform was known among the Hebrews in 2000 B C., and in the Phœnician script in 1500-1400, and that the direct evidence supports the contention that the early Old Testament books (or the substance of them) may well have been based on ancient and authentic sources.

B. HEBREW CIVILIZATION FROM ABRAHAM TO JOSHUA.

The clans of Abraham, Isaac, Jacob and Joseph occupied the stage of history essentially as represented in Genesis. Were these people rude, ignorant and half-civilized nomads, as the Grafians contend, or were they as far advanced as their neighbors, the Canaanites and Egyptians? Here, again, all parties to the controversy have access to the same sources, — the Old Testament, ancient records and recent archæological discoveries. It is largely a question of the interpretation of the evidence. It is antecedently probably that the Hebrews inherited and maintained the social, cultural and religious traditions of the great Semitic family of which they were a branch. It is also probable that a people who from their first appearance in history to the last were characterized by undoubted intellectual acumen, were no less highly endowed originally than their neighbors.[6]

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[5] In common with the Grafians, Gunkel adopts the view that these chas. are based on Babylonian sources. In that event the question arises why they may not be authentic history.

1. *Were the Hebrews Nomads?*

It is a cardinal principle of the negative criticism that the Hebrews to the period of the monarchy were nomad tribes without much culture. The argument runs thus: The documents underlying the Pentateuch (Hexateuch, eighth cent.) yield little reliable information of the early period, but merely a reflection of prophetic teaching. Even in its present form the Pentateuch represents the Hebrews as nomads, not agriculturists; whatever agricultural laws it contains arose in the period of the Judges and of the monarchy, before which time Israel had no need of such laws; and it is absurd to suppose that Moses would promulgate agricultural laws if the people lived in tents and did not cultivate the soil. We examine this hypothesis.[7]

(1) Agriculture in the Genesis Narratives. Genesis conveys the impression that the patriarchs were not pure nomads, but occasionally tilled the soil. Frequently one and the same passage implies both a semi-nomadic and agricultural life, as 13: 5, "they had flocks and herds and tents" and "Abraham dwelt in the land of Canaan and Lot dwelt in the cities of the plain" (13: 8). "Isaac dwelt in Gerar" (a town, 26: 6). Jacob's blessing speaks of "the fatness of the land, and plenty of grain and wine" (27: 28). In fact "Isaac sowed in the land and found in the same year a hundred fold" (26: 12). When it is said of Reuben that he "went in the days of wheat harvest etc." (30: 40) and when Joseph relating his dream says, "behold we were binding sheaves in the field" (37: 7), agriculture is clearly indicated. Gen. 42: 1, "Jacob saw that there was grain in Egypt", 43: 2, "When they had eaten of the grain etc.", and similar passages, are unequivocal proof that the patriarchs cultivated the soil to a certain degree. They had every inducement to such a course, for Palestine throughout

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[6] Speaking of the early Hebrews, McCurdy says: "Their invincible persistence *nitentes in adversum* testifies to the potentiality of the forces that went to the making of Israel. The stream cannot rise higher than the fountain. From what divine heights then must have descended the influences that moulded and endowed that nation which gave us the Bible and the vitalizing forces of the world!" *(Hist. Proph. and Mon.,* II, 79).

[7] The aim of the Grafians is clear. If the Israelites were nomads until near the close of the age of the Judges, the Agrarian laws of the Book of the Covenant originated at a late date. If on the contrary, the Hebrews had long been semi-nomads and tilled the soil at least occasionally, the agricultural laws of Exodus need not be late, but may have originated in the time of Moses. . . Much therefore depends upon determining whether the Hebrews had passed beyond the simple nomadic into a semi-nomadic stage prior to the Exodus.

the whole of the historical period was the granary of the East, and it may be supposed that in the Abrahamic age agriculture would yield a rich return.

A nomad is "one of a pastoral tribe of people who have no fixed place of abode, but move from place to place according to the state of the pasturage" *(Cent. Dic.)*. The ancient population of Canaan may be divided into three classes, nomads, towns-people and semi-nomads.[8]

A natural inference from the above passages is that the patriarchs and their clansmen fall under the third of these classes, *i. e.* semi-nomads. Recently a professor in the University of Leyden, B. D. Eerdmanns in a series of O. T. Studies, has come out strongly in support of the view that the Hebrews were much further advanced in the patriarchal and Exodus periods than the Graf-Wellhausen school have allowed. "The patriarchs", he says, "are semi-nomads who settle in a certain place and cultivate the soil. They build houses, and live in tents only as long as demanded by circumstances, depending for subsistence upon both cattle-raising and agriculture".[9] According to Genesis, the patriarchs do not live in the desert like the Beduin, but in the fertile valleys of Canaan near Gerar, Beersheba, Hebron and Bethel. They do not move constantly, but remain several years in the same place, raising cattle and tilling the soil. "The nomads of the desert possess only camels, sheep, goats and asses. Cattle cannot be kept for want of pasture" (Eerdmanns).[10]

Prof. G. A. Smith remarks: "All scholars agree . . . . that part of Israel's evolution into the agricultural economy, which we find them following in Palestine, consisted in the semi-nomadic stage. The narratives clearly distinguish between Abraham's and still more Isaac's and Jacob's manner of life on the one hand and that of the hunting Ishmael on the other" *(op. cit.,* 266). The admission that Abraham and Ishmael represent two different types of life is a near approach to Eerdmanns' view.[11]

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[8] 1. *The Nomads Proper,* who live in booths and move constantly, their encampment seldom being in the same place more than a few days. They live on the products of the herds and flocks, and do not cultivate the ground. 2. *The Towns-People,* who dwell in houses, live by trade, commerce and agriculture (cultivating fields near the towns) and are on a higher plane financially and educationally than the preceding. 3. *The Semi-Nomads,* some of whom keep goats, sheep, cattle, but also cultivate a piece of land. Others are more like the towns-people. "The difference between these people and the Beduin (nomads) is obvious. The Beduin's home is where the flocks are pasturing. The semi-nomads are people accustomed to a settled life" (B. D. Eerdmanns, *Expos.*, Vol. VI).

[9] *Alttestamentliche Studien,* II: *Die Vorgeschichte Israels,* 43. Eerdmanns gives a resume of his views in the *Expos.* VI. Prof. G. A. Smith in the same periodical mildly criticizes Eerdmanns, but without throwing new light on the subject. In fact Smith allows that the Hebrews in the patriarchal age were semi-nomads.

[10] In answer to Wellhausen's assertion that the Israelites turned to their old nomadic life after the Exodus, Eerdmanns says: "Our only source is the book of Exodus; but there it is very clearly shown that the tribes do not know how to live in the desert. After leaving Egypt they immediately make for Canaan".

(2). The Hebrews as Semi-Nomads. That the Hebrews at their migration to Egypt and subsequently were not the uncivilized horde of the Grafians, but somewhat advanced in the arts is a thesis defended by historians from Ewald to Kittel and McCurdy. "It would be a great mistake to imagine the Israelites to have been then a merely roving (or nomadic) race. Between fixed and roving tribes there are many intermediate grades; on one of these Israel then stood" (Ewald). The same position has been elaborately defended by Prof. J. F. McCurdy. The residence of Israel in Egypt extended over several centuries. "To have endured so long it must have had inherent elements of permanence of a social character, apart from the virility of individual founders or early leaders of the race. . . It is true that during a large portion of the time of the Hebrew residence the Hyksos, their kindred, formed the controlling element in the Egyptian population. But the toleration made possible during their regime was unknown and, in fact, impossible under their successors. . . The corporate survival of Israel in such circumstances is probably unique among the experiences of the tribes and nations of the earth" *(Hist.,* etc., II, 81—2).[12]

But there were deeper reasons for the survival of the Hebrews in Egypt. "The cardinal point is that the central attributes of the Hebrew religion must have remained intact — above all, the worship of Jehovah, the national, God. Consider what this means. It implies that for hundreds of years the same deity had been worshipped and the same characteristic observances maintained as an essential part of the tribal system. Otherwise, I repeat, the survival of Israel in Lower Egypt was impossible and is to us unthinkable. The long and obscure interval between the patriarchs and the Exodus is thus bridged over. The Exodus implies, or rather involves, the essentials of the patriarchal history" (McCurdy, *op. cit.*, p., 86).[13]

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[11] The Wellhausen school seek to break the force of the above argument by the empty assertion that "the narratives of the patriarchs in Genesis spring from the ethnological and cultural relations of the monarchical period", and so have no historical value. But this is to adopt an unproved hypothesis and then to build an argument thereon — a clear case of "arguing in a circle".

[12] That the Hebrews preserved their identity "must have been due to their organized social condition. They must have lived in Egypt in no small numbers, occupying a considerable extent of country. . . Moreover, their numbers must have increased during the tranquil period of their residence; otherwise they would have dwindled away to extinction under outside pressure. Such is the law of growth and decay among nomadic and semi-nomadic peoples".

In short, the Hebrews were no mere nomads when they entered Canaan. "They had already acquired the elements of a settled government, and these may well have been prepared for during a fixed residence, just such as they enjoyed in Egypt. . . . The people were, it is true, unsettled and discouraged by reason of the hard bondage; and the messengers of Jehovah received an unfavorable response from the mass of the people. Yet he was still recognized as the God of Israel. . . Conclusions such as these, taken all together, make the strongest arguments for the essential accuracy of the traditional conceptions of the character and career of Israel in the earlier stages of its history" (McCurdy).

Such too is the view of Gressmann.[14] "The culture of the Genesis narratives is everywhere that of the semi-nomads. . . Where they find opportunity for agriculture, they resort to it without becoming farmers. Houses are implied in Beersheba, where the soil is tilled and lentils raised (25: 34). A failure of crops in Beersheba necessitates a removal to Gerar. In fact the possession of camels by the patriarchs is not in itself a proof of nomadism. Semi-nomads also possess camels, but their characteristic is the keeping of sheep and goats, as is the case with the patriarchs. The nomads with their swift camels cover an incredibly wide territory; but the semi-nomads are restricted to a narrow area, because their cattle must be watered daily" *(op. cit.,* 26).

(3). *Tent-Life in Semi-Nomadic State.* It is clear that the tent or nomadic life was not wholly abandoned in Israel until a comparatively late period. Tent life had its attractions even when people had fixed abodes. Actual dwellers in tents and larger or smaller groups of shepherds were scattered over wide districts both East and West of the Jordan. In fact, "To your tents, O Israel" (1 K. 12: 16), was the watchword of insurrection long after the encampment had been typical of the national life. But such isolated reflections of an earlier period must not be construed as proof that Israel dwelt exclusively in tents either in the later or the earlier period. Finally, "during the monarchy the Israelites were no longer semi-nomads. Granting that the view-point of that period were adopted by the Genesis narrators, the Patriarchs would not have been represented as semi-nomads, but as dwellers in cities. But since no Old Testament passage can be adduced which implies a purely nomadic life of ancient Israel, and since the external surroundings teach directly the opposite, one must beware of defending a theory which floats in the air" (Eerdmanns, *Das Buch Ex.*, S. 125).

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[13] The above points of McCurdy have been persistenly ignored by such writers as C. F. Kent, H. P. Smith and J. P. Peters (who swallow the whole Wellhausen scheme of "myths" and "legend"). McCurdy accepts the theory of the Codes, but holds that they are sufficiently ancient to yield authentic history.

[14] Hugo Gressmann, "Sage u. Gesch. in d. Patriarchenerzaehlungen" in *Zeitsch. f. A. T. Wissensch.* XXX, p., 3. This article by G. is significant as showing that even some Grafians are receding from the extreme views of a decade ago and allowing some historicity in the patriarchal narratives. While American Grafians still stand by Cheyne's *Ency. Biblica,* a considerable number of rising German and Dutch scholars are undermining the Graf-Wellhausen scheme at all points.

(4). The Agrarian Laws of the Book of the Covenant. The Grafians, admitting that the Book of the Covenant (Ex. 21—3) implies agricultural conditions, are forced by the exigencies of the hypothesis to push its origin down to the monarchical period. If, however, the Hebrews at the Exodus were semi-nomads and expected to till the soil in Canaan, the agrarian laws of the book fit in with the circumstances. Most of these enactments either refer to or imply agricultural conditions, such as would naturally occur to a lawgiver. When the Hebrews entered Canaan, "vineyards, olive yards, barley and wheat fields, were found ready at hand. For the cattle which they brought with them pasture was available; nor was it necessary to turn many of them to agricultural uses, since the oxen and the asses and the sheep of their serfs became their property along with the former owners. . . Broadly speaking, this semi-pastoral, semi-agricultural type of society prevailed throughout the period of the Judges" (McCurdy).

The Mosaic legislation regarding fields, vineyards, shocks of grain (Ex. 22: 5, *6);* the six years of sowing and reaping and the Sabbatic years (23: 10—2); the feast of harvest and of ingathering (23: 16), and the injunction to drive out the inhabitants of the land, might well have been promulgated in Egypt. Eerdmanns writes: "As long as the opinion was entertained that the Israelites first became an agricultural people in the period of the Judges, critics could not assign the harvest festival and the ordinances implying agriculture to the Mosaic period. But this opinion having been proved erroneous, there is no objection to such a dating. In antiquity life had a religious import. Every transaction bore some relation to the invisible, but everywhere present gods and spirits. The Israelites must have regarded the harvest as having a religious significance before their migration to Egypt, just as well as after their conquest of Canaan. There is no proof or intimation that they borrowed these religious festivals from the Canaanites" *(Buch Ex.,* 130).

In view of the foregoing cumulative proof, the position of the latest professedly "critical" and "scientific" commentary on the Book of Exodus (McNeile), that the Hebrews were "untrained nomads, fresh from Egyptian slavery" (p., LXXXI) and that the Mosaic laws are an amalgamation of Hebrew, Canaanite and Babylonian elements, is wholly gratuitous and un-critical. In true Wellhausen, Mephistophelian style ("der Geist der stets verneint") McNeile affirms that the civilization of the Canaanites "must from the nature of the case have been more advanced than that of the invaders, who had but recently emerged from a rude nomad life" (p., XLVI). He, however, adds: "In our ignorance of Canaanite laws this is of course *conjectural";* so is much else in McNeile's work purely "conjectural". Will scientific critics brush aside the ancient Hebrew records and illogically substitute mere "conjecture" about the Hebrews and the Canaanites?

2. *The Hebrews at the Exodus Prepared for Mosaic Legislation.*

Enough has been said to make good the claim that the Hebrews, though originally a pastoral people, soon advanced to the semi-nomadic stage, building houses, tilling the soil and gradually adopting the arts of civilized life. An increasing number of scholars now hold that at the Exodus the Hebrews were sufficiently advanced to receive the Mosaic legislation as described in Exodus. Some additional points may be recorded here.

Contact with the Egyptians. The Hebrews in Egypt came into contact with a highly cultivated people and may be supposed to have been influenced thereby. Dr. Franz Delitzsch declares unequivocally that Israel stood high in culture: "The more Israel was then blended with Egypt, the more it would be influenced by Egyptian culture, — God so ordained it that Egypt was to Israel a secular preparatory school for its future national life and authorship. No people of antiquity was so adapted for this purpose as Egypt. . . The history of Israel does not begin with a rude, ignorant and undisciplined horde, but with the transition to a nation of a race which had come to maturity amidst the most abundant means of culture" *(Com. on Genesis,* I, 7). Prof. R. Kittel refutes "the too frequently reiterated assertion that the Israelites of the time of Moses were nothing more than a rude tribe of nomads, destitute of all higher culture. Fifteen years ago this error was in a certain measure excusable, but not now." *(Bab. Exp. & Earl. Bib. Hist.,* 25).

Dillmann says: "In constant intercourse with their kin among the Hyksos and in the Arabian desert, Israel grew through natural increase into a great people, developed its peculiar tribal organism and attained the self-consciousness of a free and independent people. According to the Exodus narratives, we must regard at least a part of the people as situated in the rich land east of the Pelusium arm of the Nile, dwelling in houses (Ex. 12: 4, 7), mingling with the Egyptians, cultivating the fields and gardens, just as the earliest and latest historical data teach that nearly all nomads, settled in Egypt proper, became through the character of the Egyptian soil almost unconsciously agriculturists, whereas the other part of the people, spreading out toward the Arabian steppes, followed a nomadic life. Through this contact with Egypt the people learned not merely a number of arts and trades, but the whole political and religious system of the Egyptians" *(A. T. Theologie,* p., 95).

Though the Hebrews were benefited by the superior culture of the Egyptians, they remained true to their ancestral faith. Through all their trials they remembered the God of their fathers (Ex. 2: 23 f).

A recent English writer says: "When we consider how well organized the government of Egypt was at this period, we may safely infer that these officers (Ex. I) of the children of Israel had to send in periodical reports of the work done under their charge, and that where oral reports were impossible owing to the distance from the Court, these reports would have to be in writing. . . In the face of this, we cannot but assume that the most ordinary Israelite was at least familiar with the practice of handwriting, even if he did not himself possess it, while a well-educated Israelite may be presumed to have himself possessed the accomplishment" (J. G. Duncan, *Explo. of Egypt and O. T.,* p., 242).

Gressmann points out that when the Hebrews formed a political confederacy against a great power, they must already have possessed a certain degree of political culture.[15]

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[15] "The excavations of the last decade have pushed back the beginning of the development in Israel much further than was formerly allowed; this can no longer be denied. We must reckon with the fact that the civilized powers, on whose borders Israel dwelt, had already a well-developed legal code. The conclu-

Recently there appeared from the modern school a remarkable book on Moses by Paul Volz, who deplores the weakness of criticism in laying so much stress on the personality of the writing prophets and at the same time denying the striking personality and achievements of such a figure as Moses.[16] For the purely literary-historical school, says Volz, Israel is only one people among many; its religion is no better and no worse than any other (Kuenen). On the other hand, the historico-redemptive school starts with Christianity; Christ is the revelation of God, and Christianity is the absolute religion. The Old Testament religion must be judged and examined from the standpoint of Christianity; it is merely the preparatory stage of Christianity, there being no fundamental difference. The former school makes everything human and evolutionistic, and eliminates Moses; the latter allows a divine element and views Moses as the greatest of lawgivers.

C. HEBREW CIVILIZATION IN THE PERIOD OF THE JUDGES.

The condition of the Hebrews during the three hundred years (more or less) of the period of the Judges has an important bearing in this connection. Do the books, Joshua and Judges, contain reliable data? What was the relation of the Hebrews to the Canaanites? Finally, how were the historical records and the Biblical books preserved and transmitted?

1. *The Books of Joshua and Judges.*

(1). The Book of Joshua. The older authorities, Jewish and Christian, held that Joshua or one of his successors was the author and that the matter is strictly historical. In the new view the book is regarded as a continuation of the Pentateuch and compiled chiefly from the documents J and E by a Deuteronomic editor (after 621 B. C.), and is of course late. Our limited space forbids a discussion of these rival claims; it suffices to note what is essential to our purpose.

The admission of the divisive critics that the history of the book "is somewhat different from that of the rest of the Hexateuch" and that "the ground-work is not P as in the first

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sion is unavoidable that the pre-Mosaic Hebrew tribes had at least an elementary legislation, the germs of public law. Moses, from whom there sprang a true Monotheism and whose Tora ultimately became the common law in Israel, must have been greater than Hammurabi and Chuenaten" *(op. cit.*, p., 27).

[16] "Neuerdings bricht die Erkenntniss durch dass mindestens ebenso notwendig auch am Anfang der Israelitischen Religion eine Schoepferpersoenlichkeit stehen muesse. So arbeitet die gegenwaertige A. T. Forschung daran, das Monument fuer Moses zu bauen" (P. Volz, *Mose*, Tueb., 1907, p., 2).

five books, but JED" (Ben. and Ad., *Introd.*, p., 79) is significant. Various ancient strata are recognized by all critics. The most remarkable of these is The Book of Jashar, allowed by all except the most radical critics, to have been a very ancient work. Early material runs through the book; thus chapter one, though composite, "is based probably upon an earlier and shorter narrative" (Driver). So of other chapters, even from the Grafian view-point.

It is generally allowed that back of the codes J, E, and P are older sources from the pre-monarchical and monarchical periods. As the problem here is essentially that of the original strata of these codes in the rest of the Hexateuch, we need merely observe that the matter in Joshua is no mere echo of "prophetical schools" (according to the Grafians), but a trustworthy narrative drawn up on the basis of records and chronicles preserved in such sanctuaries as Shiloh, Gilgal, Shechem, etc.[17]

(2). The Book of Judges. The older writers regarded Samuel or one of his school as the author (much can be said in favor of this view); the later critics see here as elsewhere in the Old Testament a working over of material from different sources, early and late. The question of the nature of the component parts of Judges is one of the most complicated in Old Testament criticism; but the bearing of the book on our inquiry necessitates a statement of the trend of criticism.

A recent Biblical Introduction from the Grafian school says: "The frame-work is due to Deuteronomic editors, so that it existed in a Deuteronomic edition, to which priestly writers made further additions. The Deuteronomic work made use of earlier material, which is often supposed to be a section of JE. During the monarchy (850-700), two independent writers (J) and (E) made collections of the narratives concerning the Judges. These were combined into a pre-Deuteronomic book about 650. During the Exile (JE) was edited by a Deuteronomic editor who added a system of chronology and retouched the book, in the interests of the Deuteronomic doctrine of national righteousness and prosperity" (Ben. and Ad.). In this view everything in the book is late.[18]

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[17] Arguments for an early date: 1. No allusion to late events. 2. The reference to the Jebusites in 15: 63 implies a date before David's capture of the city. 3. From 9: 27 it is clear that the temple was not yet built. 4. The minuteness of details, as in 9: 47 and all of ch. 22, suggests an eye-witness. 5. The detailed geographical survey of chs. 12—19 must antedate David.

Budde, Driver, Moore agree substantially with the preceding position. Prof. Moore, however, admits that we have no direct proof (internal or external) for determining the exact date of the various strata. "The author's motive, the lesson he enforces, and the way in which he makes the history teach it, are almost the only data at our command to ascertain the age in which he lived. Indefinite as such criteria may seem, they are, when the character of the work is sufficiently marked, among the most conclusive" *(Judges,* p., XVI).[19]

Omitting the introduction and the close, criticism takes its point of departure from the section 2: 6—16: 31. This, according to Driver, "consists essentially of a series of older narratives, fitted into a framework by a later editor" *(Lit.)*. The history of each of the greater Judges fits into a scheme seen in 3: 7-11 (Othniel). In the accounts of these Judges "we have the same succession of apostasy, described often in the same way, always in similar phraseology" (Driver). The narratives concerning the minor Judges are much briefer.[20]

The critics are not agreed on the sources of the first introduction 1: 1—2:5; the second introduction 2: 6—3: 6; the story of Gideon 6: 1-10; of Jehpthah, 10: 6-16 and of chaps. 17-21. A number of other problems await solution, but we inquire merely as to unquestionably ancient sections. Critics of all shades agree that the Song of Deborah is ancient, in fact almost if not quite contemporaneous with the occasion. From this vantage ground and proof of ancient strata in Judges, it may be inferred that other ancient sources and records are imbedded in the book. So far as the matter of the book goes, no statement or expression is inconsistent with an early date; the language, the local coloring and the verisimilitude indicate a high antiquity. The internal evidence points to a pre-monarchical period as the date of the underlying material.

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[18] The Grafian scheme of the date of the constituent parts is a necessary postulate of the hypothesis that the literature and religion of Israel date from the early writing prophets (eighth cent.) and that the history of the preceding periods is written from that view-point. The weakness of this view has been indicated.

[19] This means that the critical analysis is entirely subjective and determined by the view-point of the critic. The Grafian critic has no advantage over the anti-Grafian; nor the latter over the former. The alleged perfect articulation of the Grafian scheme is offset by the self-authentication of the book. If, therefore, we allow that the book of Judges may be heard as a witness in its own behalf, we are pursuing a logical and scientific method.

[20] Prof. Moore remarks: "It is plain that the author of Jud. 2: 6—16: 31 did not write these stories himself, but took them from older sources. These stories cannot have been oral tradition, or unwritten popular legends, for, apart from the difficulty of supposing that oral tradition had transmitted to so late a time such lifelike and truthful pictures of a state of society that had passed away centuries before, in reducing the oral tradition to writing, the author would inevitably have left the impress of his own style upon the stories far more deeply than is the case" *(op. cit.,* p., XIX).

According to Moore, "in those parts of the book which are attributed to J, the standpoint of the narrator is that of the old national religion of Israel; there is no trace of prophetic influence, and we can have no hesitation in ascribing this source to a time before the great prophetic movement of the eighth century. Other indications point to a considerably higher antiquity". But Moore adds: "On such grounds we should be inclined to assign this source to the first half of the ninth century" (*op. cit.*, p., XXVII). Do not the lack of "prophetic influence", the indications of "a considerably higher antiquity", the reflection of society "in the early days of the settlement in Palestine" and "the lifelike and truthful pictures" of early conditions, point to a pre-monarchical age for most of this material? The internal evidence which leads Moore to assign this source to the ninth century logically compels us to go back at least to the age of Samuel.[21]

Critics not bound hand and foot by the Grafian schematism see much in Judges which is scientifically provable as ancient. Thus Koenig finds old strata (contemporaneous with the events) in every chapter and deplores the tendency "of a certain school of historiography" to ignore absolutely "the express statements" of the sources and to search out "new and extremely doubtful ones". Speaking of 10: 3-5; 12: 8-15, he asks: "Why should all this be set down to invention?" Divisive critics do not deny the antiquity of the story of Ehud (3: 15 f) or the historicity of the bold figure of Jephthah. "In like manner the antiquity of the narrative in chapter 17 is witnessed to", and "the note that the priests of the city of Dan were descendants of Moses (18: 30) must be borrowed from an ancient source" *(Judges,* Hast. Dic.).

Recently one of the great German authorities on ancient history, E. Meyer, has come out in a strong defence of the trustworthiness of the early historical books: "It was only among the Israelites and the Greeks that true historical literature had an entirely independent origin. Among the Israelites, who in this respect as in others, occupy a separate position among all the civilized peoples of the East, *it arose at an amazingly early period* and begins with highly important creations, on the one hand the purely historical narratives in the books of Judges and 1 Samuel and on the other the reconstruction of legend by the Jehovist" *(Gesch. d. Altertums,,* sec., 131). Meyer develops the same view in his "Israel", declaring that the books of Judges and Samuel "show by their contents that they belong to the time when the events took place, and that the narrator must have been very accurately informed about the doings at court and the character of the actors in his story. They could not have been written later than in the time of Solomon". Meyer even adds: "It is an astonishing thing that a historical literature of this kind should have been possible in Israel, at that period. *It stands far above every other specimen of ancient Oriental history known to us* — above the dry official annals of the Babylonians and Assyrians and above the legendary stories of Egyptian literature. *It is really genuine history.* Its roots lie in living interest in the actual events which it strives to comprehend" *(op. cit.,* 2te Aufl.).

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[21] Moore says elsewhere: "It is often found that the impulse to write history is first given by some great achievement which exalts the self-consciousness of a people and awakens the sense of the memorable character of what it has done" *(Hist. Lit.,* Ency. Bib., col. 2075). Were not the crossing of the Jordan, the capture of Jericho, the defeat of the five kings by Joshua, the deliverance by Othniel, the exploits of Gideon and Jephthah, sufficiently great achievements to warrant the inference that here and there a priest or prophet in the period of the Judges rose to a consciousness of Israel's worth and mission and left a record, however brief, of such crises?

This is in sharp contrast with, and a stinging reproof of the depreciatory style of Stade, Wellhausen, H. P. Smith, Kent and the Grafians generally and ought to go far toward establishing the claim that the Old Testament books contain not only accurate historical data, but a true philosophy of history.[22]

We are justified in holding that the essential parts of Judges are either ancient or based on ancient and reliable sources (mostly written) and that the book contains a faithful portraiture of the period in question.

2. *Relation of the Hebrews and the Canaanites in the Period of the Judges.*

It is a cardinal tenet of the Grafian school that the Hebrews acquired the arts of civilized life, including the alphabet and the cultivation of literature, from the Canaanites. We, too, have shown that Canaan had been a land of writing and books a thousand years before the Exodus and that the alphabet was probably devised by Canaanite-Phœnician scribes. But we hold that the Hebrews even while in Egypt were as far advanced as the mass of people in the ancient world and that their culture, literature and religion were largely indigenous and only indirectly affected by the Canaanites. We shall seek to justify this view so far as relates to the period of the Judges.

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[22] Commenting on Meyer's deliverance, Koenig says: "This is certainly a very notable judgment, and it is all the more important as coming from a scholar who is equipped with a thorough knowledge of Oriental languages, and who has therefore an unusually far-sighted vision of the origins of ancient history. . . The historical testimonies of the people of Israel lead us back still further on a sure path until we reach the time of Moses" *(Expositor,* Apr., 1911).

(1). Later Canaanites Low Morally and Religiously. At the period in question (1300-1000) the Canaanites were morally and religiously, and probably intellectually, on the decline. Neither the Canaanites nor the Phœnicians ever formed a united, compact political body ruled by a single head; they were a group of independent communities — a confederacy of cities or states. These isolated city-republics were often in conflict or rivalry with each other, though generally acting in concert in times of foreign invasion. Favored by situation, caravan routes and commerce, they built up rich and powerful cities, and engaged in agriculture in the fertile plains and valleys. But wealth begat indolence, weakness and immorality, precursors of downfall. Contrary to the view generally entertained, the Canaanites at this time were on a low plane in every way.[23]

According to sacred writ the inhabitants and the land were "defiled". "Therefore I do visit the iniquity upon it and the land vomiteth out her inhabitants. . . . . Ye shall not do any of these abominations" (Levit. 18: 25-30; Deut. 12: 30). This testimony is borne out by other ancient authorities and is admitted by all except some negative critics who uniformly seek to degrade and belittle the ancient Hebrews. Even Cornill allows that the Canaanites were "enervated by luxury".

The rank of a religion is determined largely by its representation of the deity. The degrading character of the Canaanite religion may be inferred from the fact that corresponding to each male divinity is a female and that the religious rites often degenerated into licentious orgies.[24] Such a low religion inevitably affected every phase of life and cut the nerve of all serious and noble endeavor, including literature in the true sense. This is the true explanation of the fact that with all the boasted civilization ascribed to the Canaanites, they have left no literature, a few scattered seals and scarabs excepted.[25]

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[23] According to Kittel, the Canaanites "had reached a relatively high degree of civilization; but in their cities voluptuousness and dissolute morals prevailed" (Hist. II, 62). "Their moral degeneracy had reached a point to which no other people presented a parallel. The abominations they practised are represented to have been of a kind which might be said to call to heaven for vengenace. The idolatrous rites, to which they were addicted, tended to defile their conscience, and the polutions they habitually practised were a disgrace to humanity" (Maclear, *Cambr. Bible,* p., 16).

[24] It is a significant fact that the Hebrew language has no word for goddess, but many for God. The reason is obvious: the idea of a goddess, or female divinity, is utterly foreign to the O. T. religion. This was elaborately shown by Baethgen (in *"Der Gott Israels u. d. Goet. d. Heiden");* and so the basis of a nature-religion which grows out of the physical contrast of sex, was entirely wanting in Israel.

(2) The Hebrews Morally and Spiritually Superior to the Canaanites. All the evidence, both Biblical and inscriptional, supports the view that the Hebrews at the conquest and in the period of the Judges were so far superior to the Canaanites morally and religiously (and even intellectually) that they need not rely upon them for the elements of culture and civilization. Israel never ranked as low, nor the Canaanites as high as the Grafian critics imagine. According to Koenig "the religious life was a real one in ancient Israel. . . If the flame of reverence for Jehovah had not been kindled by Moses, why should he and not Samuel have been named as the greatest hero of the religious development of Israel? Hence there is no reasonable ground for doubt that Gideon (Jud. 6: 11) contended for the cult of Jehovah in opposition to the preference to Baal. . . . These ancient principles lived in the conscience of the nation, and when they were trodden under foot, as in the instance of Gibeah (Jud. 19: 23) the voice of the moral conscience spoke out loudly" (art. *Judges, Hast. B. Dic.).*

Without moral and intellectual, as well as physical, superiority, the Hebrews would not have gained decisive victories at first, nor finally subdued the country. Moabites, Midianites, Canaanites, Philistines went down before them. Even Stade concedes that a less robust people would not have held out so long. "That Israel maintained its ground against Canaanites and Aramæans and yielded only to the great Asiatic powers shows its virility". Stade well asks, how it happened that an Israelite State was established on Canaanite soil, and why the Hebrews did not unite with the Canaanites, to whom they were related linguistically and ethnically?

Stade is conscious of the gravity of the situation, but he fails to relieve it. He has nowhere in his two ponderous volumes adduced any direct evidence that the Canaanites were in advance of the Hebrews in the essential elements of culture; and he admits that they were inferior morally and religiously. He reluctantly concedes that the spirit of the Hebrew religion was immensely superior to that of the Canaanites. Before their entrance into the West-Jordanic territory, the Hebrews "had cut loose from the other nations and adopted a religion which stood higher than that of the original Canaanite population. Hereby they became a nation" *(History,* I, 112). Three things, says Stade, distinguished the Israelites from the nations: 1. The absorbtion of Canaanite blood. 2. The adoption of Canaanite culture and greater attention to agriculture. 3. The worship of Jehovah as the national God. A more logical formulation is: 1. The worship of Jehovah as the God of all the earth. 2. Through the Jehovah-religion the Hebrews from the Mosaic period occupied a higher religious and moral plane than the Canaanites. 3. They were benefited by the Canaanite culture and blood only to a limited degree.[26] A strange fact is that at the close of all his argumentation in the two works under review, Stade admits that it was the superiority of the Jehovah-religion and of the Hebrew people that assured victory and supremacy over the Canaanites. So, too, Kuenen and Wellhausen.[27]

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[25] We have no evidence from the inscriptions that the Canaanites of this period produced any high-grade literature, and much less that any of it served as models for the Hebrews.

(3). Hebrew and Canaanite Civilization Compared. The accounts in Joshua and Judges indicate that complete extermination of the Canaanites was resorted to only in rare cases. In its stead were simple subjugation, friendly alliance, servitude, (or, rarely, intermarriage). Thus we are told that the tribe of Manasseh acquired Dor, Taanach, Megiddo, etc., but that they "could not drive out the inhabitants of those cities", though they subsequently "put the Canaanites to taskwork, and did not utterly drive them out" (Josh. 17: 11-13). Similarly in other districts. The Hebrews, when brought into close contact with the natives, adopted gradually some of their customs and beliefs. "Ancient Israel was a genuine peasant people. It produced corn, wine, oil and figs, and from its herds milk and flesh. These found ready purchasers in the Phœnician dealers" (Kittel).

The Hebrews naturally were not all on the same plane of culture. The people generally were probably not as well acquainted with the arts of civilized society as the Canaanite city inhabitants; but there is no proof that the Canaanites in the country districts were more intelligent or had a broader outlook on life than the Hebrews after their contact with the Egyptians, Minæans and Moabites. The fact is that with the exception of a few favorably situated cities, the Canaanites were an isolated and provincial people and intellectually inferior to the Hebrews.[28] The latter had absorbed the best features of the old civilizations; even the so-called desert-wanderings had brought them into contact with surrounding people well steeped in Babylonian and Minæan culture.

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[26] Stade, elaborating his views in the *O. T. Theology,* allows that "the immigrants were conscious of their superior prowess and moral excellence. As descendants of nomads and conquerors, they considered themselves better than the natives" *(Theologie,* 58). To the above three features, Stade adds two more in his "Theology", viz., the *intolerance* of the Jehovah-religion and the increased vitality of the Israelitish nation and religion gained through war.

[27] Kuenen concedes that the Jehovah religion was adopted by the Hebrews at some period anterior to their entrance into Canaan *(Relig. Israel,* I, 390-403). Wellhausen writes: "Why the Israelitish religion with an approximately equal beginning, led to a totally different ending from, say, the Moabitish, cannot be satisfactorily explained" *(Is. u. Jued. Gesch.,* p., 35). Of course not, from a naturalistic world-view; but perfectly so, from a consistent theistic, supernaturalistic world-view.

A recent writer of the Grafian school admits this: "Of special significance for the nomadic Israelites was the culture of the Minæans. The Old Testament speaks of the closest connection with them, even of direct influence from them; Moses flees into Midian to the high-priest Jethro and marries his daughter (Ex. 2: 13), and he accepts the advice of Jethro regarding the organization of the judiciary (Ex. 18: 19). Midian is in Musri, the North-Arabian province of the Minæan kingdom. The Minæan kingdom flourished according to its inscriptions as early as 1500 B. C.; by this time it had a finished culture and was no longer a new kingdom. The political influence of the Minæans extended to Gaza, the extreme limit of one of the trade-routes; Southern Palestine was for centuries under the influence of the Minæans, and so were all the tribes dwelling between the Dead and the Red Sea. Whatever, therefore, of culture the Israelites brought with them from the steppes will bear specifically Minæan marks". This is from Benzinger's *"Hebraeische Archaeologie"* (2nd ed., 1907), and shows that proof is constantly accumulating from archæological research that the Hebrews in Egypt and in the desert were in close touch with the customs and institutions of that day and sufficiently far advanced to record and transmit a written revelation in the time of Moses and the Judges.

As admitted by all critics, Israel's character during the forty years' wandering "was gradually disciplined by a pure and simple moral code" (Ottley). But such a life as that of Israel in Egypt and the desert is no more incompatible with a knowledge of writing and letters than the pioneer life of the Pilgrim Fathers on the bleak New England shores implies the absence of books and of the general means of culture. In fact just as the strong moral and religious character of the latter led to the establishment of schools and colleges, so the Israelites assimilated at least the essentials of the culture of that day; this would include a knowledge of the current systems of writing.

Thus disciplined the Hebrews immediately upon their entrance into Canaan took advantage of the agricultural and economic opportunities, which would scarcely have been the case had they been ignorant nomads; in general, 'once a nomad, always a nomad'. The Hebrews appear to have adapted themselves readily to Canaanite civic and agricultural conditions; they were "to the manor (manner) born" and needed no long tutelage at the feet of the overrated Canaanites.

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[28] In short, the vaunted culture of the Canaanites was a thin vaneer of civilization, the pseudo-culture so characteristic of commercial and maritime centers.

The books of Joshua and Judges furnish undoubted proof of the advancement of the Hebrews during the period of the Judges in the so-called technical arts. Mention is made of doors of houses (Jud. 19: 26); locks (Jud. 3: 23); tables (Jud. 1: 7); weaving (Ex. 35: 35); embroidery (Ex. 28: 39); and costly robes (Ex. 28: 4, 31). Pottery is assumed as well known: bowls (Ex. 25: 29; 37: 16); pots and shovels (Ex. 38: 3; Jud. 6: 38). Implying agriculture and commerce are: ox-goad (Jud. 3: 31); millstones (Jud. 9: 53); ropes (Jud. 16: 11); money (Jud. 5: 19; 16: 18; 17: 14). Pertaining to cultus: molten images (Deut. 9: 12; Jud. 17: 3); graven image (Ex. 20: 4); ephod (Ex. 25: 7 and often). Implements of war, etc.: sword (Ex. 5: 21; 32: 27); daggar (Jud. 3: 16); spear (Josh. 8: 18); razor (Jud. 13: 5; 15: 17). Most of these imply trade and industry and were known to the Hebrews before the occupation.

That a simple agricultural life is not incompatible with a considerable degree of literary excellence is made clear in the oft-quoted passage from Robertson Smith. In accounting for the classical Hebrew and forcible diction of the prophet Amos, he says: "To associate inferior culture with the simplicity and poverty of pastoral life is totally to mistake the conditions of Eastern society. At the courts of the Caliphs and their Emirs the rude Arabs of the desert were wont to appear without any feeling of awkwardness, and to surprise the courtiers by the finish of their impromtu verses, the fluent eloquence of their oratory, and the range of subjects on which they could speak with knowledge and discrimination. Among the Hebrews, as in the Arabian desert, knowledge and oratory were not affairs of professional education, or dependent for their cultivation on wealth and social status. The sum of book learning was small; men of all ranks mingled with that Oriental freedom which is so foreign to our habits; shrewd observation, a memory retentive of traditional lore, and the faculty of original reflection took the place of laborious study as the ground of acknowledged intellectual pre-eminence". *(Prophets of Israel,* 126).

May not Moses and his scribes, though leading a humble life and unschooled in the misnamed "Canaanite culture", have written, if not as classically, yet as forcibly as the Tekoan herdsman?

Once in Canaan, the Hebrews through force of character and inherited institutions, and partly through contact with their neighbors, soon eclipsed whatever literary glory the Canaanites may have acquired. We shall see that from the time of Joshua, certainly from that of Deborah, there was a continuous stream of literary activity to the period of Samuel, David and Solomon.

II.

BOOKS AND SCRIBES IN THE OLD TESTAMENT.

It was shown above that already in an early period the Hebrews employed the same writing material (papyrus, clay, stone, stylus, ink, etc.) as the surrounding nations, and that both the cuneiform and Phœnician scripts were in use in a period so remote that no ancient writer records the date of their introduction. We now adduce evidence that scribes, amanuenses, chroniclers flourished in Israel in the pre-monarchical as well as the monarchical period.

I. EARLY USE OF THE WORD BOOK IN THE OLD TESTAMENT.

The ordinary word for book, *sepher,*[29] occurs nearly two hundred times in the Hebrew Bible, including the earliest as well as the latest literature. Of the former are: Ex. 17: 14; 24: 7; Josh. 1: 8; 8: 34; Is. 29: 11, 18; 37: 14. The word has the well-defined meanings of a *writing,* a *letter,* a *book,* as follows: (1). *A Writing.* Is. 29: 11, "words of a book"; 29: 12, "I am not learned" (literally, "I know not writing"); Num.

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[29] The word *sephe*r, as also *sôpher,* scribe, are probably denominatives from *saphar,* to count, to relate, to write. Some would derive sepher from the Aramaic *saphar,* to cut, or shave off, whence dressed skins for writing. This etymology is not generally accepted. Since the discovery of the Tell-el-Amarna Letters, a derivation from the Assyrian has been suggested. There the verb *shaparu,* to send a letter, and the noun *shipru,* a writing, a letter, and *shipirtu,* a message, are of frequent occurrence. (Vid. Winckler's Tell-el-Amarna Letters.) In these, the large number of Phœnician, *silicit,* Hebrew glosses, is noteworthy and would indicate a constant interchange of words between the Assyrian and the Phœnician in 1400 B. C. and perhaps earlier. Possibly, *sepher* is an old Assyrian loan-word, finding its way into the Hebrew at an early date. So Gesenius-Buhl and Brown-Driver-Briggs lexicons, *sub. voce.* It ought to be noticed, further, that the word has no connection with the usual Hebrew word meaning to write, *Kathabh.* If the word sepher was adopted from the Assyrian, or possibly already from the Babylonian, did not the thing signified go with it? Much can be said in support of the position of Koenig, as deduced from the Hammurabi Code, and the Amarna Letters, that writing was known among the Hebrews at the date of Exodus, and possibly even in the Abrahamic period.

5: 25; Jer. 32: 10, "I subscribed the deed" (literally, "I wrote in the book"); Job 19: 23, "learning of the Chaldeans". (2). *A Letter or Indictment.* 2 S. 11: 14, "David wrote a letter to Joab"; 2 K. 5: 5. Plural, Is. 37: 14; 39: 1; 1 K. 21: 8, "She wrote letters in Ahab's name". Jer. 32: 12, 14 (deed of purchase); Job 31: 35, "the indictment"; Deut. 24: 1, 3, "bill of divorcement". (3). *Book.* Ex. 27: 4, "the book of the Covenant"; Ex. 17: 14, "a book", (or the book); Josh. 1: 8; 8: 34, "the book of the law"; Ps. 40: 8 (Eng. v. 7) "roll of the book"; Is. 29: 18; 69: 29; Dan. 9: 2, "the books" (sacred); 12: 1; Eccles. 12: 12, "of making many books there is no end"; Gen. 5: 1, "book of the generations"; Num. 21: 14; Josh. 10: 13; 2 S. 1: 18.[30]

These passages show that the art of committing thought to writing in the form of rolls, letters, books and legal enactments antedates the Davidic age. In Num. 21: 14 a quotation is said to have been taken from "the Book of the Wars of Jehovah", a work assigned by critics to a pre-Solomonic period. In any event, whoever the authors of the assumed J, E, P and D codes were, they uniformly represent books and writing as common in the Mosaic age,—a species of circumstantial proof amounting to certainty.

2. THE SCRIBE IN ANCIENT ISRAEL.

A remarkable proof that great care was taken in ancient Israel to preserve the sacred writings is derived from the frequent reference to the scribe and secretary in both the earlier and the later Old Testament. The Hebrew word *Sopher,* generally rendered scribe or writer in the American Revision, occurs fifty-six times with the following meanings.

(1). *A Scribe or Writer in General.*

Is. 36: 3, 22, "Shebna the scribe"; Ps. 45: 1, "a ready writer"; Jer. 36: 26, "Baruch the scribe"; Ezek. 9: 2, 3, "the writer's inkhorn by his side". Since in early times the number of those who could write was small, the employment of a professional scribe became a necessity in a civilized community. At the court of the kings of Judah, the office of scribe or secretary was one of high rank.[31] Seraiah and Sheva were scribes to King David, 2 S. 8: 17; 20: 25; Elihoreph to Solomon, 1 K. 4: 3; Shebna to Hezekiah, 2 K. 19: 2; Shaphan to Josiah, 2 K. 22: 8. In the following passages the American Revision translates by the word "scribe" in the text, but by "secretary" in the margin: 2 S. 8: 17; 20: 25; 1 K. 4: 3; 2 K. 12: 10; 1 C. 18: 16; 2 C. 24: 11; Esther 3: 10; Is. 36: 3, 22. The duties of this official are not clearly defined; but he seems to have been charged with preparing a record of the chief events. He may also have been an accountant, since this is one of the meanings of the word. The scribe stood near the king, often being a counsellor: "Jonathan, David's uncle, was a counsellor, a man of understanding, and a scribe", 1 C. 27: 32. According to Jer. 36: 10-12, 20, 21, the work of the royal scribe was so extensive that he appears to have had a special chamber or office. See also 2 K. 18: 18, 37; 22: 3, 8, 9, 12; 2 C. 34: 15, 18, 20; Jer. 37: 15, 20.

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[30] Since the word *sepher* occurs in all the Pentateuchal codes, the word and the thing are ancient under any view of the date of codes.

[31] As seen above, *sopher* was probably imported at an early date. "We find the Ass. noun *shapiru* used as a synonym of *ablu,* secretary; one or the other term was often wanted, for the different classes needed secretaries to prepare legal documents and other business records. So doubtless among the Israelites" *(Ency. Bib.,* col. 4319).

(2). *An Enroller or Muster-Master.*

This was an officer having charge of the enrollment and enumeration of troops. See 2 K. 25: 19; Jer. 52: 25; 2 C. 26: 11, "according to the number of their reckoning made by Jeiel, the scribe". Is. 33: 18, "Where is he that counted?" (margin, "the scribe"). Probably Jud. 5: 14 belongs here: "They that handle the marshal's staff" (margin, "the staff of the scribe"). The scribe in this sense was "a kind of adjutant-general" (Moore, *Judges*, 151).

(3). *One Skilled in the Sacred Books.*

Of these Ezra is the type. Ezra 7: 6, "he was a ready scribe in the law of Moses"; 7: 11, "Ezra, the priest, the scribe"; Neh. 8: 1, 4, 9, 13. According to Neh. 13: 13, the scribes were of nearly the same rank as the priests: "I made treasurers over the treasures, Shelamiah the priest and Zadok the scribe". The guild of the professional scribe was indicated by the inkhorn girded at the side, Ezek. 9: 2, 3. The services of scribes were in such constant demand that sometimes whole families were members of the order, 1 C. 2: 55, "the families of scribes etc.,". In the time of Josiah, scribes were regularly appointed officials, 2 C. 24: 13.

(4). *The Shoter.*

The word *shoter* rendered "officer", in the American Revision, in Ex. 5: 6, 10, 14, 19 and in other places, is frequently rendered scribe in the Septuagint. "Evidently Sopherim and

Shoterim were synonymous terms and could be used of any subordinate office which required ability to write" *(En. Bib.,* col., 4320).[32]

(5). *The Chartom.*

Another strange word is *Chartom,* Gen. 41:8; 24:7; Ex. 7: 11, 22; 8: 3, 14, 15; 9: 11, generally translated *magician,* but in the Amer. Rev. margin, Gen. 41: 8, "sacred scribe". It is probably traceable to *cheret,* a stylus, and denotes first a writer of hieroglyphics, and then an interpreter of the sacred writings. As this passage stands in the early document E, the word must have been long in use and well understood by writer and reader.

(6). *The Mazkir.*

At the courts of David and Solomon important events were recorded by regularly appointed scribes and chroniclers. Thus under David, "Jehoshaphat was the recorder *(mazkir)* and Seraiah was scribe"; 2 S. 8: 16, 17. Under Solomon, "Elihoreph and Ahijah, scribes; Jehoshaphat, the recorder", 1 K. 4: 3. See also 2 K. 18: 18, 37; Is. 36: 3, 22; 2 C. 34: 8. The *mazkir* was "one of the court-officers whose duty it was to record noteworthy contemporary events, in order that the king might call them to remembrance. Compare Esther 6: 1; Ex. 17: 14. He was the *Magister memoriae* of the Roman Emperors" *(Buhl-Ges. Lex.).* The *mazkir* was the royal remembrancer.[33]

(7). *The Tiphsar.*

The unusual word *tiphsar* is translated "scribe" in the Am. Rev., margin, Jer. 51: 27. Lenormant and Cheyne derive it from the Assyrian *dup-sharru,* tablet-writer, occurring frequently in the Babylonian and Assyrian contract-tablets. The word was probably in current use among the Hebrews from very early times and indicates their knowledge of tablet-writing.

(8). *Jeremiah and the Scribe Baruch.*

The Book of Jeremiah refers frequently to the service rendered to the prophet by the scribe Baruch. "Then took Jeremiah another roll, and gave it to Baruch the scribe, who wrote therein from the mouth of Jeremiah all the words of the book which Jehoiakim had burned in the fire; and there were added unto them many like words", 36: 32. See also 36: 1-6, 9-38; 43: 4-7; 45' 5. We have here a typical example of the relation of the scribe and disciple to the prophet. If Jeremiah had an amanuensis who wrote down carefully the words of the master, it is altogether likely that other prophets took a similar care to have their messages recorded in permanent form.

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[32] Koenig directs attention to the fact that *shoterim* are mentioned not merely as Egyptian taskmasters over the Hebrews, Ex. 5: 6, but also as Hebrew officers of the Mosaic period, Num. 11: 16; Deut. 1: 15; 16: 18; 20: 5, 8, and regards this harmony of representation as implying a knowledge of writing among the Hebrews of the Exodus.

[33] "It was the duty of the *sopher* to issue the public documents; of the *mazkir* to preserve them and to incorporate them into the proper connection of the history of the kingdom. Throughout the ancient East both offices existed generally" (F. Delitzsch).

III.

LITERATURE IN THE DAVID-SOLOMON PERIOD.

Critics of all shades admit literature of a high grade existed in Israel shortly after the establishment of the monarchy. The references in Samuel, Kings and Chronicles to old and authentic books and documents is a direct proof that the art of composition in the archaic Hebrew script had attained a high stage in the David-Solomon period. We describe briefly some of these ancient records.[34]

I. DAVID'S LAMENT OVER SAUL AND JONATHAN.

The essentially Davidic authorship of the "Lament over Saul and Jonathan", 2 S. 1: 18-27, is admitted by most critics; also that it was committed to writing from the first. Kautzsch says: "The doubts occasionally expressed against the genuineness of the song are now silenced; in every age men have recognized here a genuine pearl of Hebrew poetry" *(Abriss d. Altt. Schrifttums)*. So, too, Prof. H. P. Smith: "There seems to be absolutely nothing in the poem which is inconsistent with its alleged authorship" *(Samuel,* p., 258). This is strong language. If David could write such a "beautiful elegy" (C. F. Kent), is it not *prima facie* evidence that he wrote other poems?[35]

2. DAVID'S LETTER TO JOAB.

2 S. 11: 14 is significant, for it implies the use of writing in some generally understood script: "David wrote a letter to Joab and sent it by the hand of Uriah". This verse is found in a stratum regarded by critics as written in the age of Solo-

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[34] Kautzsch assigns the following sections to the 10—9 centuries: in 1 Samuel, most of chas. 9 to 11; most of 13 and 14; 16: 14-23; most of 18, 21, 23; 25: 1-44; most of 28; all of 29—31. In 2 S. most of chs. 1—20; 21: 15-22; 23: 8-39. 1 K. ch. 1; 2: 13-46; 3: 5-28; most of 4—11.

[35] That the Lament of David over Abner, 2 S. 3: 33—4, is genuine, even though no authority is cited, is generally admitted. It may, however, be a question whether this one strophe, complete indeed in itself, is the whole of the dirge, or only a part of the original.

mon or not much later. The whole account is realistic in a high degree; and this statement regarding the letter is so entirely incidental that its historicity cannot be reasonably questioned. Some have supposed that since Uriah was the bearer of his own death-sentence, the letter was not composed in the Phœnician script, but in an (assumed) system of conventional signs *(cf. Iliad,* VI, 169-170). But just as "the sad characters" of the Bellerophon-letter were written on a folded and sealed tablet, so here the tablet of wax or gypsum was sealed, and the contents unknown to the bearer. Nothing forbids our holding that the letter of David was composed in Hebrew and in the script then current.[36]

3. THE SCRIBE SERAIAH.

The statement, 2 S. 8: 17, "Seraiah was scribe", shows that one of the regular officers of the court of David was a secretary whose duty was doubtless in part to keep a written record of the chief events. This passage, found in the oldest source of the book of Samuel, unquestionably indicates the literary use of writing in Israel as well established and therefore of early date.

4. PSALMS OF DAVID.

The number of Psalms written by David is not definitely known. It the titles and superscriptions could be accepted as authentic, the number would be about 74. As seen above, Ewald, Briggs and others regard some fourteen Psalms as essentially Davidic.[37] A considerably larger number were inspired by David. The situation is described by Dr. J. D. Davis: "Tradition, not a late tradition, but ancient native tradition almost contemporary with David, both directly and indirectly, ascribes the composition of psalms to him. His fondness for music is recorded in the historical books; he played skillfully on the harp (1 S. 16: 18-23; 2 S. 6: 5), and he arranged the praise for the sanctuary (1 C. 6: 31; 16: 7; 41, 42; 25: 1 *sq.).*

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[36] It may be remarked that the words "wrote a letter" are *kathabh sepher,* literally wrote an epistle or book, (Sept., *Biblia),* the words uniformly employed in the O. T. to denote ordinary writing in the Phœnician script. An exactly parallel passage of somewhat later date, but reflecting an ancient custom, occurs in 1 K. 21: 8; "Jezebel wrote letters in Ahab's name and sealed them with his seal", which implies sealing in the ancient way. The Samaria *Ostraca,* recently discovered, render it clear that Jezebel's letter was written in the Hebrew language and the archaic Hebrew script.

[37] The Psalms in the Hebrew are frequently introduced by a preposition denoting *of,* or *belonging to,* the so-called *lamed auctoris.* This in some cases certainly means authorship. According to the later criticism, "the lamed is not the lamed of authorship, as has generally been supposed" (Briggs, *Psalms,* I, LXI).

. . . His musical activity is referred to by various authorities; Amos (6: 5), Ezra (3: 10), Nehemiah (12: 24, 36, 45, 46), the son of Sirach (Ecclus. 47: 8, 9). . . The times of David, moreover, were calculated to call forth devotional literature; for the revival and reformatory work of Samuel had been in progress for a generation, the spirituality of religion had been urgently insisted upon, interest in the sanctuary had been reawakened, and preparations were being made for the erection of a temple on a scale of great magnificence" *(Bib. World,* VII, p., 502).

Even if the number of Davidic Psalms is not as great as was formerly supposed, the fact that a man of war like David wrote noble and inspiring hymns, is an indirect proof that men living in the time of Moses and of the Judges might likewise write poems, or at least historical records and memoranda.[38]

5. DAVID'S LAST PROPHETIC WORDS.

2 S. 23: 1-7 contains a poem introduced as the "Last Words of David". Standing in an early stratum of the Book of Samuel, it is on *a priori* grounds authentic. According to H. P. Smith, "both the vocabulary and thought show it to be a comparatively late production" *(Samuel,* 381). Few Hebraists would pronounce the language as necessarily late; and the "thought" can be pronounced "late" only on the unproved Grafian assumption that all the codes are late. G. Baur remarks that only "hypercritics" deny the authenticity. As the negative criticism has nothing direct to offer, but builds on subjectivism, we regard the Biblical account as well sustained.

6. OTHER WRITINGS OF DAVID.

David seems to have been the author of other writings. In 1 C. 23: 27 we read: "By the last words of David the sons of Levi were numbered". The American Revision, margin, reads, "in the last acts", which is preferable. A more literal rendering is: "In the last acts of David is the numbering of Levi". Under this view, the reference is to a lost book of annals or statistics. There is mentioned also, "The Writing of

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[38] Of Psalm 18 (= 2 S. 22), one of the noblest of productions, Briggs says: "After removing the *glosses,* there is nothing that bars the way to his authorship" *(Ps.* I, 141). The man who could write such a poem could write others. Driver, adopting the common view of the negative critics that David had inferior literary talents, finally remarks: "On the other hand, if Deborah, long before David's time, had 'sung unto Jehovah' (Judges 5: 3), there can be no *a priori* reason why David should not have done the same; and 2 S. 23: 1 the expression 'the sweet singer of Israel' implies that David was the author of religious songs" *(Literature,* p., 358).

David and Solomon", in 2 C. 35: 4: "Prepare yourselves after your fathers' houses by your courses according to the writing of David king of Israel and according to the writing of Solomon his son". It would seem that the lost works here mentioned were notes or writings of David and Solomon in which were recorded the laws for the guidance of the priests and Levites in the sanctuary.

The prophets of the David-Solomon period produced a large number of booklets and records, which, though suffered to perish, are referred to in the canonical scriptures, as follows.

7. THE HISTORY OF SAMUEL THE SEER.

"Now the acts of David the king, first and last, behold they are written in the history (Heb. *words)* of Samuel the seer, and in the history of Nathan the prophet, and in the history of Gad the seer" (1 C .29: 29). It has been held that the first of these works is the extant Book of Samuel, since certain sections of Samuel and Chronicles agree almost verbally. But a closer examination shows that the document quoted by the Chronicler was considerably more extensive than our canonical Samuel. The natural inference is that the authors of Samuel and Chronicles quoted from a history of Samuel now lost.

8. THE HISTORY OF NATHAN THE PROPHET.

This is mentioned in 1 C. 29: 29 quoted above. As Nathan was a prophet of commanding influence at the court of David, and conversant with the real drift of events, we are not surprised that he wrote a history of that part of the reign of David with which he was especially familiar. In 2 C. 9: 29 we read: "Now the rest of the acts of Solomon, first and last, are they not written in the history of Nathan the prophet?" From this it may be inferred that he also wrote an account of Solomon's reign.[39]

9. THE HISTORY OF GAD THE SEER.

The above passage in Chronicles likewise mentions this work. The prophet Gad was counsellor of David in early life (1 S. 22: 5). Subsequently he announced the divine condemnation of the royal census (2 S. 24: 11), and advised the erection of an altar on Araunah's threshing-floor (2 S. 24: 18). He was therefore qualified to write a history of the first part of David's reign. In regard to these three lost books on the reign of David, it may be remarked that the events in the king's life must have been well known to Samuel and in the schools of the prophets, and that they would take steps to keep a complete record.

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[39] Alas! of all the lost works of antiquity, is there any, heathen or sacred, to be named with the loss of the biography of David by the prophet Nathan? We can, however, form some notion of these lost books by the fragments of the historical writings that are left to us in the Prophetical Books of Isaiah and Jeremiah, and also by the likelihood that some of the present canonical books were founded upon the more ancient works which they themselves must have tended to supersede (Stanley, *History of the Jewish Church,* Vol. I., p., 395).

10. THE CHRONICLES OF KING DAVID.

1 C. 27: 24: "Neither was the number put into the account in the chronicles of King David". As this passage stands in the account of the numbering of the people, the chronicler doubtless means that the details of the census were not entered in the official records. The book would thus appear to have contained among other matters, a transcript of statistical tables. "From them may have been derived the formal summaries of wars such as are given in 2 S. 8: 1-15, and lists of officials such as those in 2 S. 8: 16-18; 20: 23-26; 23: 8-39 (Kirkpatrick, Samuel, p., 11)".

11. THE BOOK OF THE ACTS OF SOLOMON.

In the Books of Kings three documentary sources are mentioned: (1) The Book of the Acts of Solomon, 1 K. 11: 41; (2) The Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Israel, 1 K. 14: 19; (3) The Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah, 1 K. 14: 29. That these are independent works is shown by the fact that for the history of Solomon only the first is cited; for the history of the kings of Israel only the second; and for the history of the kings of Judah only the third.

Thus it is certain that the prophets were the authors of historical books; and we are therefore justified in holding that the book of the Acts of Solomon was composed largely of excerpts from prophetical writings, and perhaps chiefly from the three mentioned in 2 C. 9: 29.

12. THE LOST PROVERBS OF SOLOMON.

There must have been intense literary activity in the two and a half centuries between Solomon and Hezekiah, for we are told, Proverbs, 25: 1, "These also are proverbs of Solomon, which the men of Hezekiah copied out", the reference being to chapters 25-29 inclusive. The peculiarities of language and matter bear witness to the gradual growth of the Book of Proverbs. Since Solomon is said to have spoken three thousand proverbs (1 K. 4: 32) and the number transmitted is only about 540 (some of which are repeated) it is probable that several collections of his proverbs were extant, and that scribes gathered into one book such as suited a religious purpose. The word translated "copied out", meaning also "compiled", "arranged in order", may indicate either one book or many as the source of the collection. Whether Hezekiah's men merely copied out, or also compiled and edited is immaterial, since under any view some book or record existed from which they selected. The view of some that these proverbs were handed down orally is wholly without support.

13. SUMMARY.

That the David-Solomon period was far advanced in what may be called literature in that age is evident. But according to the negative criticism, Hebrew literature arose only in the ninth century. Wellhausen says: "Before 850 B. C. we have no statistics. . . Hebrew literature first flourished after the Syrian wars. . . The reason why Elijah and Elisha left no writing, while Amos did, is due to the fact that the former was a non-literary, the latter a literary age". So too Kuenen: "Israelitish literature dates from this, *i. e.* the eighth century, or at all events not much earlier". Smend says: "The oldest literature of the Old Testament arises as to substance in the regal period, and in its present form not until the late regal period".[40]

Such is the uniform assumption of the Grafians, — an assumption based on the prior assumption that the Hebrews had no opportunity, disposition or suitable environment to record the achievements of their race or to sing the praises of Jehovah. The evidence thus far adduced shows that this remarkable people at the Exodus and even during the somewhat unsettled times of the Judges were as far advanced as their neighbors and as deeply concerned in the perpetuity of their inherited institutions. The reader will not be surprised to find a very considerable body of records, historical memoranda and even the most elevated poetry in the period of the Judges.

IV.

PRE-DAVIDIC LITERATURE.

We come now to the most difficult part of our thesis. What is the nature of the evidence that the Hebrews had at least a limited body of literature, written literature (if the tautology be allowed), prior to David by some centuries, even as far back as the time of Moses? Here again we reason back from the known to the unknown.

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[40] The American Grafians fall in with the above. Thus Prof. C. F. Kent says: "The conditions were first developed among the Hebrews after the establishment of the monarchy" (*Nar. Begin. Heb. Hist.*, p., 18). See above, chap. I.

It is clear that writing and literature were extensively cultivated in the early years of the monarchy.[41] There must have been pamphlets, biographies, histories, poems, state records, chronicles, and booklets generally, from which later writers quoted, but which subsequently disappeared. Only the titles of some of them and an occasional citation have been preserved. But the material at command is sufficiently ample and specific to enable us to construct a strong argument for the view that the era of Davidic literature was preceded by many years of practice in writing and composition. The classic Hebrew and the finished style of the admittedly earliest Hebrew literature (though the "style" of Hebrew is never "finished" in the classic Greek sense) did not spring up over night, but were the fruitage (in a fertile soil) of a long period of growth and development in all kinds of literature. We describe some of these early writings.

I. THE BOOK OF THE WARS OF JEHOVAH.

1. The twenty-first chapter of Numbers contains three poetical quotations, the first of which is affirmed explicitly to have been taken from the "Book of the Wars of Jehovah", v. 14. The occasion of the quotation is a description of the route of Israel beyond Moabite territory and to the border of the Amorites. Since the Arnon was in dispute, it is possible that the poem celebrated a war for its possession; the writer adduces a few lines as proof that the Arnon as the border of Moab has been taken by Israel. The fragment begins and ends in the middle of a sentence. If we supply a suitable verb, it runs thus: "Wherefore it is said in the Book of the Wars of Jehovah,

We passed Vaheb in Suphah,
And the valleys of the Arnon,
And the slope of the valleys
That inclineth toward the dwelling of Ar,
And leaneth upon the border of Moab", vs. 14, 15.

We have here the clear statement of a quotation from a "book" (Hebrew *sepher),* and unless the word has a meaning different from the uniform usage of the Old Testament, it denotes a composition in written, and not merely in oral form. The date of this book will be considered later.

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[41] It was shown above (chapters six and eight) that inscriptions in the archaic Hebrew script, such as those of Siloam, Samaria, Jeroboam, the Gezer Calander Tablet and others, take us back to about 900 B. C., and warrant the inference that this script had long been in use. So, too, of literature in the special sense.

2. The second poetical quotation, Num. 21: 17, 18, is the so-called "Song of the Well":

"Spring up, O Well; sing ye unto it;
The well, which the princes digged,
Which the nobles of the people delved,
With the sceptre and with their staves."

Moses at the command of Jehovah collects the people and gives direction for the digging of the well. "The seeking of the precious water by rude art in a thirsty valley kindles the mind of some poet of the people. And his song is spirited, with ample recognition of the zeal of the princes, who themselves take part in the labor. While they dig he chants, and the people join in the song till the words are fixed in their memory, so as to become part of the traditions of Israel" (R. A. Watson in Expositor's Bible).

3. The third poetical citation, Num. 21: 27-30, begins: "Wherefore they that speak in proverbs say:

Come ye to Heshbon;
Let the city of Sihon be built and established:
For a fire is gone out of Heshbon,
A flame from the city of Sihon:
It has devoured Ar and Moab,
The lords of the high places of the Arnon, etc."

Since the introductory words, *'al-ken yomeru,* are the same as in v. 14 (except that the verb is naturally in the plural), it may be inferred that the quotation was made by the same writer from the same source. The words, "they that speak in proverbs" (in the Hebrew, one word, a participial noun) may refer to the above "Book of the Wars of Jehovah", to a different book, or even to a song handed down orally.[42] Driver and critics generally regard the three fragments as part of one poem. Kautzsch thinks it probable that the "Song of the Well" and other poems, as Ex. 15: 1-18, 21, were taken from this "Book": "All these fragments point to a collection of songs for the glorification of the brave deeds of the people, and especially of Jehovah as the leader and the God of Battles" (Abriss, etc.).

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[42] The persons who recited the poem are called *meshalim* (v. 27), from a verb meaning to utter a *mashal.* A mashal may be either a parable, as in the American Revision of Ps. 49: 4 (Hebrew v. 5) and 78: 2; a satiric hymn, Micah 2: 4; Hab. 2: 6; a maxim, Prov. 1: 1, 6; or even a prophecy in verse, as the parables of Balaam, Num. 23: 7, 18; 24: 3. The second of these meanings seems to suit best here. The meshalim are Israelites. The words, "let the city of Sihon be built and established," imply that it was destroyed. Satirically the Israelites call on the vanquished Amorites to rebuild the city if they are able. The justification of the triumphal song is found in v. 28: "a fire is gone out of Heshbon," etc. The view that the poem is a satiric ode is held by Ewald, Keil, Sayce, Dillmann. Others, as Stade and E. Meyer, claim that the poem has nothing to do with the Amorites, but is a triumphal ode celebrating a victory over Moab at a much later date. In any event, the Mashalim were an order of long standing in Israel.

That which concerns us especially in this connection is the early date of this "Book" and the still earlier date of the poems preserved in it. Some, as Gray, hold that the book was a collection of ancient popular songs that had been handed down orally till the fuller establishment of a national life brought with it a period of literary activity (Commentary, p., 285). Fuerst and the older critics place it in the Mosaic period; Dillmann in that of David and Solomon; Stade in the time of Omri; Kuenen under Jehoshaphat; E. Meyer 850; Driver prior to 900. Holzinger, reviewing the recent literature, concludes: "Ueber Vermutungen kommt man da nicht hinaus" (Einleitung, Hexateuch, p., 230). Dillmann argues: "Since the book is cited for the Moses-Joshua period, and since it cannot be supposed that the later writers (J and E) would quote for their readers very late songs as witnesses of that remote period, the Wars of Jehovah must mean the old conflicts for the possession of the land; and the composition of the book or the collection of the songs must be placed not later and probably earlier than the David-Solomon period, when the recollections were still fresh in the memory. The age of Moses is out of the question" (Numeri, Deut. u. Jos., 123).

The connection clearly shows that at an early period a guild of men existed not unlike the Greek rhapsodists, who recited before the people the old songs and poems of the nation.[43] We shall not err much either way, if we regard the nucleus of the Book of the Wars of Jehovah as originating shortly after the events celebrated and as committed to writing already in the period of the Judges. Whatever the date of composition, it is clear that written sources existed in the early days of the Judges.[44]

2. THE BOOK OF JASHAR.

1. At the battle of Gibeon, Joshua said:

"Sun, stand thou still upon Gibeon;
And thou, Moon, in the valley of Aijalon.
And the sun stood still and the moon stayed
Until the nation had avenged themselves of their enemies.

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[43] It is easy to imagine how these reciters went about in Israel and, especially in time of war, by reciting poems like the present (compare Is. 4: 4; Hab. 2: 6) and thus recalling former victories, stimulated and encouraged the people (Judges 5: 31). But possibly the *repertoire* of these ballad-singers was not confined to odes of war and victory (Gray, Numbers, p., 299).

[44] Any one caring to see a good example of the self-refutation of a certain type of textual and literary criticism will find it in T. K. Cheyne's article in the Encyclopædia Biblica, col. 5271, where the absurd Jerahmeel hypothesis is brought to bear on this subject, and the contention put forth that there was probably no *Sepher Milhamoth* at all, but rather a *Sepher Yerahmehel, i. e.,* "the book, or list, of Jerahmeel," "a geographical survey"!

Is not this written in the Book of Jashar?" (Josh. 10: 12-13).

What was the character and the date of this Book? "It was probably a collection, rhythmical in form, and poetical in diction, of various pieces celebrating the heroes of the Hebrew nation, and their achievements. . . . The book was naturally compiled by degrees, and gradually any ode or song deemed worthy of preservation added to it" (Maclear, Cambridge Bible, p., 89). Since the word *hayyashar* means the "Righteous One," the book may have been a record of the deeds of righteous men.[45] It will be observed that the verses 1-11, and 16-27 read continuously, while 12-15 break into the narrative and indicate an insertion. Whether the author of chapter ten, or another, incorporated the matter relating to the standing still of the sun, the citation of the Book of Jashar proves that sources and documents were preserved in that early period and were available for literary purposes.

2. The second and only other reference to this book in the Hebrew Bible is in 2 Sam. 1: 17, 18: "And David lamented with this lamentation over Saul and over Jonathan his son (and he bade them teach the children of Judah the song of the bow; behold it is written in the Book of Jashar)". In v. 18 the Hebrew text, which has no word for "the song of", might be translated literally, "teach the children of Israel the bow". But what can this mean? The text as it stands is in some confusion, for this lamentation of v. 17, would seem to refer to the dirge in vs. 19-27. How then can "the bow", which is said to be written in the Book of Jashar, mean the following dirge?[46] Was the dirge known both as "a lamentation" and as "the song of the Bow"? It is immaterial here how these questions are answered; the fact remains that in this comparatively early stratum of the Old Testament we have a distinct reference to an ancient book doubtless preserved in the Hebrew archives and available for reference. According to Driver, "it was not

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[45] The quotation here does not prove that the Book of Joshua was composed after the date of the reference in 2 Sam. 1: 18 (David's time), and as little is the reference there a proof that the first part of the book was not extant in the pre-Davidic period. Josephus testifies that books other than the canonical were laid up in the Temple (Antiquities, V: 1, 17).

[46] All the later critics, as Ewald, G. A. Smith, Perles, Wellhausen, Holzinger, Driver and H. P. Smith have discussed the passage and attempted a restoration of the text. Driver states the difficulties, but offers no solution (Notes on Samuel). Wellhausen is equally unsatisfactory (Buecher Samuelis). H. P. Smith says: "We can do nothing with the text as it stands, and the efforts of all the commentators only bring the difficulty more clearly into relief" (Commentary on Books of Samuel, 259).

compiled before the time of David, though the nucleus of the collection may obviously have been formed earlier" *(Literature,* p., 114). So also Reuss.

It is probable that the Book of Jashar is referred to in another passage. In closing the description of Solomon's dedication of the Temple, the Septuagint in 1 Kings 8: 53, adds: "Is not this written in the Book of the Song?" Since the Hebrew for "the Righteous" is *hayyashar* and for "the Song" *hashshir,* and since in the absence of the vowel-points in the Hebrew as originally written, a confusion could easily occur, it is probable that the Septuagint translators mistook the one for the other. The Syriac similarly confounds the two words, rendering Josh. 10: 13 "book of hymns, or praises", and 2 Sam. 1: 18, "book of Ashir". It is not likely that the Septuagint added the clause without warrant. It would seem then that the Book of Jashar contained an account of the foundation of the Temple and was quoted by name in the Hebrew text used by the translators of the Book of Kings into Greek.

Various opinions have been entertained as to the extent of this lost book. Talmudists, Church Fathers, Midieval rabbis wrestled in vain with the problem; perhaps all would have assented to the conclusion of Theodoret "that the citations prove that other documents written by the prophets were made use of in the composition of the historical books." Current criticism may be summed up in the language of W. H. Bennett: "The data are too scanty and obscure to determine either the character of the book or the meaning of its title. As the passages quoted are ancient poems on great events, especially battles, probably the book was a collection of such poems" (Hast. *Dic. Bible*). At all events, the references show that already at an early period, books were in process of formation and were referred to as sources of further information.[47]

3. JOTHAM'S PARABLE.

Jotham's parable of the trees anointing a king, Jud. 9: 1-21, must be regarded as a pre-Davidic piece of writing both on internal grounds and the recognized principles of literary criticism. The whole chapter, as Driver and nearly all critics admit, stands in a very ancient stratum. "Chapter nine," says Oettli, "contains traces of a highly archaic character, a section rich in names, characteristic features and specific data, taken from a special source, which chronologically is not far removed from the events narrated. The moral judgments in vs. 24, 56, 57, grow so naturally out of the history itself and are so entirely different from the analogous passages of the religious-pragmatic scheme, that we ascribe them, not to the late redactor, but to the original author of chapter nine. The compromising estimate of the kingdom in Jotham's fable and in the description of Abimelech, forbids our assigning the composition to the Saul-David period" *(Kommentar)*.[48] Another critic says: "The artistic form of the fable is of such a high character and is permeated by such inimitable sarcasm, that the impression of the early date of the composition is unavoidable". The stylistic and historical data indicate that the parable was composed and written out not long after, and perhaps even contemporaneously with the episode, *i. e.* about 1120 B. C.

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[47] The *Sepher hayyashar* has given rise to a curious literature. The Targum saw in it "the book of the law"; and the rabbis variously understood it as referring to Genesis, Deuteronomy, Judges, and even the Minor Prophets. The opinion of Gershom that it was one of the books that perished in the Babylonian Captivity was shared by Hottinger and other writers. In 1854 there appeared in London an ambitious work by Dr. Donaldson, who in the attempt at reconstruction included in it a considerable part of the Pentateuch and of the early historical books. There are also extant several rabbinical books with the same title. An interesting account of the speculations and imitations called forth by this lost work is found in Literary Remains of Emanuel Deutsch, pp., 440—8.

4. WRITING IN GIDEON'S AGE.

Judges 8: 14 contains an incidental but all the more valuable proof that a youth taken at random was able to write down at the request of Gideon the names of the princes and elders of Succoth.[49] "He caught a young man of the men of Succoth and inquired of him; and he described [wrote down] for him the princes of Succoth, and the elders thereof, seventy and seven men" (vs. 14). According to Kautzsch, "this incident warrants the inference of a general spread of the art of writing among the common people and enables us to conclude that the rise of real literature may not be placed later than the second half of the period of the Judges. The possibility that already at that time, perhaps at ancient sanctuaries, as Shiloh and Bethel, and in the circle of an hereditary priesthood, the writing down of old hymns and of the history of the sanctuary, was begun, must be admitted" *(Abriss,* p., 9).

This admission of the use of writing in the time of Gideon in the Phœnician script, not in the cuneiform, involves some far-reaching consequences, especially when taken in connection with the fact that the youth recounted to Gideon the *sarim* (princes) and the *zequanim* (elders) of Succoth, which implies a stable, well-organized government. If society was thus comparatively far advanced among the inferior races of Palestine, we may suppose that the conquering Israelites had a like knowledge of arts and letters. This passage, whose plain meaning and verisimilitude cannot be invalidated by any special pleading as to the "lateness" of the documents (the ever ready Grafian refuge), shows not only that society and government were in a comparatively advanced stage, but that writing must have been taught either at home or in the schools of Palestine.

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[48] Prof. G. F. Moore, with more reserve, says: "It is noteworthy that these words (vs. 56) are uttered, not, as in so many similar cases, by a nameless prophet, or by an angel, but by the man from whose lips they come with the most dramatic fitness. In this also we may perhaps see evidence of the antiquity of the whole story" *(Judges,* p., 246).

[49] Both the Authorized Version and the Am. Rev. are probably inaccurate here in the use of "described" rather than "wrote down", which by the general consensus of scholars is the meaning of *kathabh* in this connection. Moore says: "There is as little reason to depart from the usual meaning of the verb as there is to infer from it that the Israelites of Gideon's time could all read and write".

This well-attested incident proves as conclusively as most facts of ancient history can be proved that writing was known at Succoth and presumably among the Hebrews. How could Gideon have read the list even when written unless conversant with the script? If Gideon had acquired the art, why not others of his people? The episode proves further that tablets, stylus and writing-material were ever at hand, even in a military foray, and that the Israelites had at command all the accessories of recording more or less lengthy documents and narratives.

We need not expect that literature of the style and polish of the Periclean age flourished in that somewhat primitive state of society; nor did it in fact so flourish in the Hammurabi and Amarna periods, if by literature we mean a magnificent diction and artistically rounded sentences. But if it be allowed that the Egyptian and Babylonian annals of the millennium preceding Gideon may in a broad sense be denominated literature, then assuredly it may be held that a Gideon and the ancient Israelite scribes possessed in no less degree the skill, acumen and resources of language to compose not merely simple narratives, but even longer poetical and historical pieces.

5. DEBORAH'S TRIUMPHAL ODE.

We examine the remarkable poem known as Deborah's Song or Triumphal Ode, Judges 5: 1-31, with the view of evaluating the proof which it supplies regarding early Hebrew literature. All competent judges admit that it is written in classic Hebrew and implies a long period of literary practice among the Hebrews. Critics generally, even the more radical, allow that the author was a contemporary of the events described. Thus Kuenen: "Form and contents alike prove that it is rightly ascribed to a contemporary". Stade: "Even though the lineage of Deborah is uncertain, the Song in any event dates from a contemporary". Wellhausen: "The

Song of Deborah, an unquestionably authentic document, goes back almost to the Mosaic age" *(Is. u. Jued. Gesch.,* 11).[50]

Moore says: "The Song is unsurpassed in Hebrew literature in all the great qualities of poetry, and holds a high place among Triumphal odes in the literature of the world. It is a work of genius, and therefore of that highest art which is not studied and artificial, but spontaneous and inevitable. It shows a development and command of resources of the language for ends of poetical expression which shows that poetry had long been cultivated among the Hebrews" *(op. cit.,* 135).[51] The Harvard professor concedes practically all that we ask: "a work of genius", "unsurpassed in Hebrew literature", "poetry long cultivated among the Hebrews". Orelli says: "That the Song originated in the period which it describes and is accordingly one of the oldest and best preserved monuments of Israelite literature, is quite generally admitted" *(Kom.,* 246). The internal character of the poem and the concessions of critics who with few exceptions belong to the negative school furnish an impregnable argument that the Song was composed in the Hebrew language and script and preserved intact to later times.[52]

The age of Deborah according to the chronology adopted here is about 1150 B. C.; it may be a half century earlier or later. In any event this writing, and be it understood, writing in the sense of literature as classic and finished as any in the Old Testament, goes back very nearly to the Mosaic age, as Wellhausen allows. If our purpose were to multiply words, it would be natural to draw inferences as to the possibility and probability that Hebrews of that and the preceding age rose on other occasions to similar flights of literary excellence. Or, are we to infer, either that they exhausted their resources on this occasion, or that no other themes worthy of literary treatment presented themselves? So a large number of literary critics would have us believe. If it be allowed that some unknown Hebrew author of the twelfth pre-Christian century conceived and executed such a magnificent piece of word-painting as the fifth of Judges, other writers of that and the preceding age could have produced, so far as literary qualifications go, the documents underlying the Hexateuch and the book of Judges.

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[50] Koenig says: "The Song is not merely according to the general analogy, that poetical glorifications of great events are older than their records in prose, but also according to the wealth of detail, a direct echo of the historical situation therein described, namely the decisive victory over the Northern Canaanites" *(Einl.,* 254). It follows that other ancient sources are probably imbedded in the book.

[51] Prof. Moore seeks to break the force of his admissions by the adoption of the unproved Wellhausen-Stade hypothesis that since "early poetry was not preserved in books, but in the hearts of men", the Song "itself was thus perpetuated for generations". We have seen that this assumption of "oral perpetuation" is contrary to the facts and probabilities.

[52] Some scholars, appealing to the title and v. 7, regard Deborah as the author. Against this it may be said that the title is possibly of later date, and that some of the ancient versions have the verbs of v. 7 in the third person and not in the first, as in the Hebrew. But since, as a rule, the Massoretic text stands, unless overwhelming evidence supports the versions, and since, further, vs. 12, 15, 24, and 30 accord with the received text, the common view of the Deborah authorship is well sustained. Some critics, however, as Kuenen, Reuss, Kittel, etc, hold that Deborah is not the author. Wellhausen says: "Barek fuerte die Israeliten an; Deborah sang ihnen das Lied" *(Gech.* 38). Whether or not Deborah is the author is immaterial for our purpose. Its essential contemporaneousness with the events celebrated is the chief point here.

6. THE MARSHAL'S STAFF.

Some recent writers, as Sayce, hold that Deborah's Ode contains a clear proof of Hebrew writing. The latter part of v. 14 reads in the American Revision: "Out of Machir came down governors, and out of Zebulun they that handle the marshal's staff". The Authorized Version substitutes "lawgivers" and "staff of the scribe" for "governors" and "marshal's staff", respectively. All turns here on the meaning of several Hebrew words. Sayce's argument is substantially as follows. The Hebrew word rendered "lawgiver" is *m'khoqeq,* a participle meaning to engrave. In Ezek. 23: 14 the words *m'khuqqeh* and *khaquqim* are used of sculptures engraved on the stuccoed walls of the Chaldean palaces and then marked in red. In Is. 49: 16 the verb *Khaqah* denotes tattooing of letters in the flesh, and in Ezek. 4: 1 the same verb describes the engraving of the plan of Jerusalem on a clay tablet. In Is. 10: 1, the *Khoq'qim khiqqe'aven,* "engravers of unrighteous decrees", are associated with "the writers of perverseness". Thus the *m'khoqeq* and the scribe performed a similar work, the former holding a higher place, for he made the law, while the latter merely recorded it. The scribe might be content with papyrus and parchment, but the statutes of the lawgiver needed to be engraved on durable material, like wood or metal.

The words rendered "the marshal's staff", or "the staff of the scribe" are *shebhet sopher.* All depends on the force of *shebhet,* which the lexicons define, as a tree, a rod, or staff. In Gen. 49: 10 *khoqeq* clearly means lawgiver, but *shebhet* in the same verse as clearly means scepter. Unless the passage under review form an exception, it would seem that the Old Testament furnishes no well-attested example in which the word means *stylus* or pen of a scribe; but such a use was entirely natural, since the word is etymologically the same as the Assyrian *shabbitu,* a stylus. Sayce argues cogently that here the term must mean 'pen of the writer'. "The word *sopher,* scribe, defines the word *shebhet,* rod, with which it is conjoined. What is meant by the 'rod of the scribe' is made clear by the Assyrian monuments. It was the stylus of wood or metal with the help of which the clay tablet was engraved or the papyrus inscribed with characters. The scribe who wielded it was the associate of the lawgiver" *(High. Crit.,* etc., p., 56).[53]

7. KIRIATH-SEPHER OR BOOK-TOWN.

Another proof that writing was known in Palestine at an early date, certainly in the time of Joshua, is supplied from the meaning of *Kiriath-sepher* in Josh. 15: 15, 16 and Judges 1: 11, 12. *Kiriath* unquestionably means town or city, as shown by Is. 1: 21, 26; Hos. 6: 8; Jer. 4: 26. *Sepher* clearly means book in this connection; hence Book-Town. In Josh. 15: 15, 49; Jud. 1: 11, 12 the Sept. rendering is "city of letters". Still further strengthening the claim of the antiquity of Kiriath-Sepher as a seat of learning is the explanatory clause: "Now the name of Debir beforetime was Kiriath-Sepher" (Josh. 15: 15; Jud. 1: 11). That the writer considered it necessary to explain that Debir was formerly known as Kiriath-Sepher implies the high antiquity of the town. In 1 K. 6: 5 the word Debir is simply transcribed in the Sept., but rendered Oraculum in the Vulgate and Oracle in the Authorized and American versions.[54] Koenig says: "In any event the existence of a Canaanite Book-Town in Southern Palestine, Josh. 15: 15, has since the recent discoveries lost much of its historically enigmatic character, and one will admit more readily than heretofore that Judah's signet, Gen. 38: 18, 25, was supplied with letters" *(Einl.,* p., 178).

The Amarna Letters furnish incontestable evidence that even small towns in Palestine had scribes who wrote in the cuneiform and carried on an extensive correspondence with the Egyptian court. The existence of such a literary center as Kiriath-Sepher is therefore entirely in harmony with what might be expected. But the existence of such a center some forty miles from Jerusalem implies that at an early date the Hebrews came under its influence and possibly had access to its literary treasures.[55]

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[53] Prof. G. A. Barton holds that the common interpretation, 'staff of the scribe', is correct *(Bib World,* V, 127). Moore renders *sopher* by "muster-master", an officer who in the later military organization "had charge of the enumeration and enrollment of the troops". Moore renders the whole phrase, "the muster-master's staff". Assuming that the muster-master would make a list of the troops, some kind of writing is implied.

[54] "It meant the inner shrine of the temple, the Holy of Holies, where the deity spoke to his worshippers. It was essentially a place of speaking, wherein the oracles of the god were delivered to his priests. It was thus a fitting spot for the site of a great library" (Sayce, *op. cit.,* p., 55). Moore regards with suspicion all such attempts at identification. "So tempting a name could not fail to give rise to a multitude of speculations". Moore, however, has nothing more satisfactory to offer. It is worthy of mention that W. Max Mueller recognizes Kiriath-Sepher in a phonogram meaning "house of the scribe" in Papyrus Anastasi I *(Asien u. Europa,* 174).

8. WRITING IN JOSHUA'S TIME.

Tracing the evidence of written records further and further back, we need not be surprised that the age of Joshua is represented in the Bible as one of considerable literary activity.

(1). *Copying of the Law.*

In Josh. 8: 32 we read: "He wrote there upon the stones . . . a copy of the law of Moses, etc.," "This has been variously interpreted as meaning (a) the whole law; (b) the Decalogue; (c) the Book of Deuteronomy; and (d) the Commandments proper, the statutes and rights contained in the Pentateuch". It matters little here in what sense the word "law" is to be understood; the fact remains that writing for literary purposes is clearly implied.[56] The law was probably "written upon or in plaster with which these pillars were coated. This could easily be done; and such writing was common in ancient times. I have seen numerous specimens of it certainly *more than two thousand years old,* and still as distinct as when they were first inscribed on the plaster" (Thomson, *Land and Book).*

The account, though brief, fits in well with the situation. The author in speaking of the law "written upon stones (the stones covered with gypsum) need express himself very briefly because the subject was fully presented in Deut. 27, to which he had just referred" (Dillmann).[57]

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[55] It is possible that the cuneiform records preserved in Kiriath-Sepher, Shechem, Bethel, etc., and falling into the hands of the Israelites at the conquest, were in some cases the sources of the Biblical narratives. See, further, chap. XIII.

[56] The Graf-Kent-Smith school would break the force of the passage by assigning its insertion to the ever ready Deuteronomic editor, but according to the same school, this figure-head stupidly misplaced the passage. "But", says Dillmann, "an interpolator would certainly have sought a more suitable place for the inserted passage" *(Josh.,* p., 478). If the section 8: 30-35 goes back to E, it is quite ancient, and as E rested on earlier sources, we reach the same date approximately as above.

[57] The investigation of the Egyptian monuments has shown that it was an ancient Egyptian custom "first to plaster the stone walls of buildings, and also monumental stones that were to be painted with figures and hieroglyphics, with a plaster of lime and gypsum, into which the figures were worked; thus it was

(2). *Distribution of the Territory.*

The account in Josh. 18 and 19 of the distribution of the unoccupied territory to the seven tribes which had not received their allotment is a proof at once of the extensive use of writing and of the advanced culture among the Hebrews of that day. If the territory was to be distributed equitably, it must be accurately described. Hence Joshua directs that a commission of 21 men, three from each tribe, prepare a written description of the land, and report to him at Shiloh.[58] Joshua directs the men as follows: "And they shall arise and walk through the land, and describe it according to their inheritance; and they shall come unto me. . . . And ye shall describe the land into seven portions and bring the description hither to me. . . And the men went and passed through the land, and described it by cities into seven portions *in a book;* and they came to Joshua unto the camp at Shiloh" (18: 4, 6, 9). The author of these verses evidently intended to convey the impression that the commission was to prepare a written description of the territory as the basis of an equitable distribution. In order to secure accuracy, they were to describe "it by cities in a book".[59] The report was to be embodied in a written form, says Dillmann, (who accepts the historicity) in order to prevent future strife.

That the commission is assumed to be competent to make such a survey implies a somewhat advanced stage of culture and rufutes in a striking way the assumption of the negative critics that at the Exodus the Israelites were an ignorant horde. "Although the survey was connected chiefly with a general estimate of the resources and characteristics of the several districts, yet it is to be remembered that the Israelites had acquired a knowledge of the art of mensuration in Egypt, where, on account of the annual overflowing of the Nile, it had been practised from the earliest times" (Maclear, *Cam. Bible).*[60]

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possible in Egypt to engrave on walls the most extensive pieces of writing. And in this manner Deut. 27: 4-8 must be understood, and in this manner it was accomplished by Joshua".

[58] Their duty was not so much to make an actual measurement as to furnish information regarding the different districts, such as the number and character of the towns, the barrenness or fertility of the soil, etc.

[59] The word translated "describe" in the above passages is the usual word ***kathabh*** "to write", and such is unquestionably its meaning here. According to the Grafians the whole narrative is late and a projection backward of the ideas of a later age. It stands, however, in JE, whose component parts are early under any view; and thus it may rest ultimately on a source coming down from the age of Joshua. The word rendered "book" is the usual Hebrew word *sepher,* whose plain meaning cannot be evaded here.

[60] This mode of assignment "places the conquest of Palestine, even in that remote and barbarous age, in a favorable contrast with the arbitrary caprice, by which the lands of England were granted away to the Norman chiefs" (Stanley, *Lectures,* I., p., 265).

9. LITERATURE IN THE MOSAIC AGE.

The line of argument in the preceding section yields certain definite results. We proceeded from data accepted by the negative critics to conclusions warranted by a rigid inductive logic. The starting-point was in every instance some generally accepted position of scientific criticism. Others cogent arguments (advanced by the strictly conservative or traditional school) could have been adduced, but since their validity might be challenged on the basis of the Grafian premises, they have been omitted. But even so the case is a strong one. In the David-Solomon period, there originated certain writings of David, Samuel the seer, Nathan the prophet, Gad the seer, the Chronicles of David's reign, and various other records no longer extant. In the period of the Judges. there appeared the first part of "The Book of the Wars of Jehovah," "The Book of Jashar", Jotham's "Parable", Deborah's "Triumphal Ode", Joshua's Transcript of the Law and the Description of the Unoccupied Territory. Further proof of writing in the Phœnician script is found in the ability of a youth of Succoth to write and of Gideon to read a list of 77 names, also in the reference to the pen of the scribe in Deborah's Ode and in the mention of the Book-Town (Kiriath-Sepher).

Here we have an unbroken chain of examples of writing and literature extending from Joshua to David. This period, it must be allowed, was not characterized by the highest degree of literary activity; nor is it so represented in Scripture. It followed the Mosaic, or creative period of Israelitish history, and was partly an age of decline. All classes alike were occupied in becoming firmly established in their new home.[61] But the extant writings from this period are sufficiently numerous and meritorious to warrant the inference that heroes like Joshua, Deborah, Jephthah, Samuel and others, would not merely rise in defence of the Jehovah-religion, but also prepare the essentials of an historical record; and we may be sure that the priests at Shiloh, Bethel and other sanctuaries (with the native pride of their guild) would transmit various written records. If, as admitted by all critics, writing was well-known and a high order of literature produced in Israel in Deborah's time, it is safe to conclude (even apart from other proofs) that they flourished several generations earlier in Joshua's time, and if in Joshua's, then in the Mosaic age generally.

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[61] Their condition was similar to that of the American colonies before the Revolution. The latter, even while fighting the Indians, produced a very considerable body of respectable literature. So, too, the leading spirits in the period of the Judges.

The chief points, therefore, are: 1, Conditions in the period of the Judges favorable to the production and transmission of writings; and, 2, the *prima facie* presumption of the common use of writing and of an extensive Hebrew literature in the Mosaic Age.[62]

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[62] Commenting on the tendency to assume that writing on monuments precedes its use for literary purposes, J. G. Dawson says: "It is quite possible that handwriting was likely to be in common use for ordinary purposes before ever it was thought of employing it on stone or other imperishable material. It is incredible that with civilization at such a height as we find it on the shores of the Levant as early as 1500 B. C., the people would go on using the accomplishment of handwriting merely for public or political purposes, or for records on temple walls and monuments, and never dream of applying it to the purposes of every-day life" *(Expl. of Egypt,* etc., p., 240).

CHAPTER XIII.

THE ANTIQUITY OF HEBREW LITERATURE.

(Continued.)

A. ANCIENT STRATA IN THE PENTATEUCH.

While the present inquiry does not necessarily demand a consideration of the question of the origin and composition of the Pentateuch (Hexateuch), it is obvious that the chief practical as well as theoretical interest of the discussion lies in the possible Mosaic origin of the Pentateuch or at least of the underlying strata. The Pentateuchal problem is too large for consideration here; but it will be proper to inquire whether any parts of the Pentateuch may not have originated either in the Mosaic or the immediately following age.

1. *Old Hebrew Records.*

The Hebrews produced a very credible literature in the period of the Judges, as *e. g.* the Song of Deborah, the Book of the wars of Jehovah etc. It is probable that these works are types of other prose and poetic writings, of which unfortunately the Old Testament makes no mention. It is therefore antecedently probable that a considerable part of the Pentateuch is of early, even Mosaic, origin. The essential trustworthiness of the Old Testament records, as shown by archæological discoveries, justifies the conclusion that authentic written documents of the pre-Mosaic period are imbedded in Genesis, as the accounts of the creation, flood, dispersion, call of Abraham, etc. E. Koenig says: "Upon the basis of the above described cultural relations of the patriarchs and of the positive traces of credibility in Israelitish literature, the conclusion appears perfectly valid, that not only traditions, but also written records from the pre-Mosaic age are found in the Pentateuch. This seems to be the only adequate explanation of the following characteristics of the narrative, namely that already before Moses stages of progress are distinguished, that certain occurrences are minutely described, and yet without a trace of the laudatory and over-wise saga; and that a part of the history contains a number of surprising references to non-Israelitish antiquities" *(Einl.*, 180).

If in deference to the current criticism, the J and E Codes be assigned to the ninth and eighth centuries respectively, it follows from the same criticism that the matter of these codes antedates written prophecy by a number of centuries. The majority of critics allow that the authors of the original J and E strata had at command and either re-wrote or embodied, ancient written sources going back in some cases almost, if not quite to the Mosaic age. According to Gunkel the patriarchal sagas received their present form prior to 1200 B. C., as seen from the silence of the Pentateuch regarding the sanctuary at Jerusalem, the wars with the Philistines, the kingdom of Saul, David and Solomon, the high-place and Ashera worship etc.[1]

2. *Pre-Mosaic Strata.*

The Israelites, while recognizing Moses as the great lawgiver, carefully preserved the old land-marks and patriarchal traditions, a thing impossible without specific records. The historicity of Genesis is established as much by what it omits as by what it records. A late writer would probably have represented Abraham as observing all the Mosaic laws of sacrifice (as is actually done in the Apocryphal Book of Jubilees) and have committed other anachronisms. Such a distinction between the pre-Mosaic and Mosaic periods, far from being the result of a *Studier-Zimmer* calculation of a writer living a thousand years later, must date from a remote past.[2] "The Abraham narratives in Genesis," says Koenig, "do not sound as if they were sagas and myths. Abraham is a nomadic chief with a merely temporary abode in Canaan and must purchase a burying-place for his dead. Would not the picture of his condition have been painted differently by oral tradition after the lapse of five hundred or a thousand years? We know what oral tradition has to say of his migration from Chaldea and his kingdom in Damascus (see the extravagant account in Josephus *Antiq.* I: 7, 2; 8: 2)".

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[1] With the exception of Gen. 36: 31 there is no reference to a king in Israel; and if this passage be regarded as a late insertion, nothing in JE is demonstrably post-Davidic. Certain sections in these codes are represented as originating in the Mosaic age.

[2] An incidental proof of the Egypticity and authenticity of the Genesis narratives is furnished by the fact that of the five kinds of animals presented to Abraham by a Pharaoh (Gen. 12: 16), the horse is not mentioned, agreeably to the fact that the horse is not depicted on Egyptian monuments before the Hyksos period; it occurs, however, in the time of Joseph, Gen. 47: 17; Ex. 9: 3. Other data of like character could be adduced.

3. *Abraham and Cuneiform Tablets.*

Had Abraham access to cuneiform tablets, and did he leave anything in writing? The Grafians dismiss the subject contemptuously, and Driver ridicules the idea that the patriarchs may have had written records. But look at the facts and probabilities.[3]

(1). Ur a Literary Center. A thousand years before the Abrahamaic age, letters, contracts, histories and all kinds of writing were prepared in every part of the Babylonian Empire, including Canaan.[4] Scribes were found everywhere, and writing was almost universal among the higher classes. Writing was a required exercise in the schools.[5]

Ur was an ancient city already in the days of Abraham and the seat of a high civilization and of the worship of the Moon-god Sin.[6] We do no violence to the probabilities of history in holding that in the family of Terah the same care would be taken in the education of the youth as in other families of the higher middle class in Babylonia; it must be remembered that Abraham was a man of wealth and influence when he was divinely directed to leave his fatherland.[7] Since writing was an indispensable element in Babylonian life and civilization, nothing is more probable than that Abraham in youth learned to write the cuneiform just as others of his rank; in any event he could command the services of a scribe. During his 75 years' residence in Ur he would certainly have constant need and opportunity to read the Babylonian language and script, and familiarize himself with all the details; at the departure of the family from Ur, and subsequently from Harran, there were unquestionably professional scribes in the caravan.

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[3] "It is not denied that the patriarchs possessed the art of writing; but the admission of the fact leads practically to no consequences; for we do not know *what* they wrote, and there is no evidence that they left any written materials whatever behind them" (*Genesis*, p., XLIII; *ibid.*, p., 143).

[4] "In the times of the First Dynasty of Babylon almost every tablet seems to have a fresh *tupshar*, or scribe. Many show the handiwork of women scribes. But most of the persons concerned in these documents were of the priestly rank. There is no evidence that the shepherds or workpeople could write. In the Assyrian times the scribe was a professional man. We find *aba* or *tupshar* used as a title. So, too, in later Babylonian times" (C. H. W. Johns, *Bab. and Ass. Laws, Contracts*, etc., p., 151).

[5] "The fact tnat scribes were so numerous implies that there were schools in which they had been taught. . . All kinds of pupil exercises have been found, from tablets containing a repetition of single wedges, to exercises in multiplication and grammar, and in the copying of various kinds of lists" (Clay, *Light on O. T.*, pp., 182, 187).

[6] "The great political and religious centers of Babylonia, Ur, Sippar, Agade, Eridu, Nippur, Uruk, perhaps also Lagash, and later on Babylon, formed the foci of literary activity, as they were the starting-points of commercial enterprise" (Jastrow, *Relig. of Bab. and Ass.*, p., 245).

[7] "In accordance with an ancient Oriental custom even now universally prevailing in the East, we should imagine the Babylonian students of the time of Abraham being seated on the floor with crossed legs, respectfully listening to the discourses of the priests, practising writing and calculating on clay tablets, or committing to memory the contents of representative cuneiform texts by repeating them in a moderately loud voice" (Hilprecht, *Expl. in Bib. Lands*, p., 522).

(2).*Religious Motives in the Migration.* The Terahites, impelled by religious motives to migrate to the West, naturally carried with them their sacred books, for they must be supposed to have had as much interest in religious records as the average Babylonian, who associated religion with every business transaction. As says Jeremias: "From the analogy of other religious-historical phenomena in the Orient, we may assume that there was here a reformatory movement which protested against a religious degeneration in ruling circles" (*A. T. im Lichte,* etc., p., 333). Through a revelation (outward and objective as well as inward and subjective) Abraham was led to migrate. According to Acts 7: 2, "the God of glory appeared unto our father Abraham, when he was in Mesopotamia, before he dwelt in Harran". The correctness of this must be maintained despite the negative criticism. Even Jeremias writes: "The critics [he means the Grafians] say that this is to be understood in the sense of the later prophetism. But this is a *petitio principii* ('a begging of the question')".[8]

B. Baentsch in his recent *"Ancient Oriental and Israelitish Monotheism"*, takes high ground in support of the old view that the call of Abraham looked toward the conservation of a true monotheism. "Ur Kasdim and Harran, as well as Heliopolis or On, are not merely geographical designations, but the names of celebrated ancient sanctuaries with highly cultured priests, in whose midst the old monotheistic speculations were familiar. If now the ancient representatives of the people (Abraham and Joseph) are brought into relation with these sanctuaries, it would follow that the generations of the patriarchs were familiar with the religious thoughts current at these sanctuaries. Under these circumstances, the ancestors of Israel must have been monotheists, even if only in the old sense." (p. 50).[9]

"Finally", says Baentsch, "the strongest proof that we have here, not a late, artistic construction, but a genuine historical record lies in the fact that the Abrahamic narrative in Genesis justifies itself more and more as a part of a great religious-historical environment. For, from the El-Shaddai of Abraham there are historical threads to El-Elyon, who according to the clearly unsuspicious account in Gen. 14:

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[8] Jeremias continues: "Besides, if God revealed himself to the prophets, was he inactive in the origin of the Israelitish religion? If one asks, where was revelation before the time of Abraham, we reply in the language of Acts 14: 16, but in the sense of Rom. 1: 19. With the father of the faithful, a *novum* took place, a revelation looking forward to redemptive history" *(op. cit.,* p., 334). To the same effect also Orelli: "The soil out of which the O. T. religion grew, was a Semitism, which recognized a supreme God." Israel's permanent possession of a true monotheism was due to a revelation of the living God to pious men, as *e. g.* to Abraham, "bei welchem ein erster Ansatz zur Bildung der spezifischen biblischen Religion stattfand" *(Allgemeine Religionsg.,* p., 264).

[9] Baentsch opposes the Grafian view that this monotheism of Israel was first taught by the prophets of the eighth century and that "the patriarchal history and especially the Abrahamic narratives were of Canaanite origin".

18 f. was venerated in ancient Urusalem about 2000 B. C.; and from this El-Elyon the threads are spun to the Lord of the gods in the Amarna period" (p. 36).

It is highly significant that Abraham migrated from the great religious centers Ur and Harran. Jastrow, Baentsch and Sayce have pointed out that at both these places (especially the former) Abraham would come into contact with the worship of the Moon-god (now rapidly degenerating), and that his "call" to another country fits in exactly with what the inscriptions intimate regarding the decline of true religion.

(3). Early Sacred Records. That which concerns us here is whether Abraham would take steps to preserve and carry with him genealogical records and religious books. "Every organized religion has its sacred books. They have been as indispensable to it as an organized priesthood. . . . The sacred book binds a religion to its past; it is the ultimate authority to which, in matters of controversy, appeal can be made, for it enshrines those teachings of the past upon which the faith of the present professes to rest" (Sayce, *Relig. An. E. and Bab.*, 398). In antiquity each great sanctuary had its own collection of books. Living under the very shadow of the great temples and departing on a religious mission, Abraham would unquestionably provide himself with just such tablets and records as were deposited in great numbers in Ur and Harran.

Dr. Julius Fuerst in his History of Biblical Literature remarks that the Abrahamites coming into contact with the literary atmosphere of Ur must have been influenced thereby to preserve records of their faith. "The writings of the Babylonians and Canaanites must have led the patriarchs to write out the traditions of the remote past, *i. e.* the accounts of the creation, fall, flood and dispersion, for they still lived in the circle of Semitic ideas, had a deep consciousness of their connection with other people, and transmitted the cosmogonic sagas and the information concerning the new post-diluvian race. . . These beginnings of Hebrew literature in the patriarchal period are contained in the primitive Biblical records of Genesis. If we omit the few, but recognizable later, additions in the spirit of the particularistic Mosaic religion, we clearly discover the pre-Mosaic, archaic expressions and the common Semitic ideas, imbued, however, with a deep ethical spirit".[10]

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[10] Fuerst emphasizes two points: 1, The traditions of Gen. 1—11 were written in the patriarchal period; 2, The earliest Hebrew literature arose prior to the Mosaic individualizing of the material. "These primitive records in Genesis (which reflect the views of the West-Asiatic races) are characterized by such a realistic style that one immediately recognizes that neither the sojourn in Egypt nor the distinctively Mosaic legislation affected them essentially".

Recent English writers, as Girdlestone and Lias, also hold that Abraham had cuneiform records.[11]

A cardinal tenet of the Grafian critics is that Genesis 1-11 is traceable to Babylonian sources. On the assumption of some connection between the two accounts, only two hypotheses are worthy of consideration: 1, either these chapters were composed by the Jews during the Babylonian Exile and so are late; or, 2, the underlying strata were brought by Abraham from Ur and so are early. At no intermediate period, either during the patriarchal sojourn in Canaan, the bondage in Egypt, the time of the Judges or of the monarchy, were the conditions present for the adoption by the Hebrews of these primeval narratives. The period of the Babylonian Exile is excluded by the fact that the J and E codes were composed some centuries earlier, as all allow, (the Grafian date being *circa* 850, at which time the Hebrews were not in touch with Babylon, nor had they been for centuries); and by the fact that the P sections (assigned by the Grafians to the Exilic or post-Exilic period) are for the most part and especially in Genesis earlier than the Exile and are accordingly assigned by the Dillmann school to a comparatively early date, a view gradually gaining ground in other critical quarters.

A German archæologist, E. Sellin, who has investigated anew the sources of Genesis 1-11 reaches the conclusion that an absolute separation of J and P is impossible. In some parts P has more original, *i. e.* older material than J. There can be no doubt that chapter V is more ancient than 4: 17-22. It is also clear that parts of the flood narrative are older than J, as *e. g.* the rainbow and the covenant including animals (9: 12). "The traditional matter in 1-11 was in all probability brought to Canaan by the family of Abraham" *(Bib. Urgesch.)*, but was later elaborated from other sources and finally written out in the Davidic period, according to Sellin.

Another German critic, R. Kittel, adopts the view that these chapters are based on records brought by Abraham from the East, "having been long known to Israel, for the simple reason that they had long existed as an old heritage in the East and been imported in substance by Israel from their ancient home. Everything tends to show that this material, whether found in

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[11] "There would be no difficulty in Abraham's becoming possessor of trustworthy copies or translations of these documents, which would thenceforward be handed down to his posterity, and from these or such as these, the early part of Genesis would be composed, the whole series being welded into one by some qualified person, into whose keeping the document would come on the death of Joseph" (R. B. Girdlestone, *Foundations of the Bible*, p., 48). So, too, J. J. Lias: "There is a strong presumption in favor of the supposition that the patriarchs themselves could write and a high degree of probability in consequence that memoirs were preserved among their descendants which were used in the narrative in Genesis. It is more than probable that some of these were inserted *in extenso*. Genealogies would naturally be copied with as much exactness as possible, though it is also possible that some of these might have been inserted from public records by some later editors" *(Prin. Bib. Criticism)*.

Babylonia or in Israel, is very ancient, and the simplest explanation of the later variations, is to be found in the assumption that both accounts go back to a common original, from which, proceeding in two streams and subject to independent development, they issue respectively in a nature-myth (Babylon) and in a monotheistic religion with an ethical basis (Israel)" *(Orient. Ausgr. u. Bib. Gesch.,* 30).

The probability, therefore, that Abraham may have taken with him some cuneiform tablets of the early history of mankind — some transcripts of the Sumerian-Babylonian *Urgeschichte* — is not so preposterous as Driver and others would have us believe; nor is it necessary to entertain the extreme view that the patriarchs carried about with them whole "libraries of burnt bricks". A half dozen tablets six by eight inches, carefully encased and easily stowed away in a small ark, would suffice for what under any view must have been the compass of Genesis 1-11 in that day. If Abraham was any such figure as represented in the Bible he must have preserved a record of his eventful career. Nor do we depart from the probabilities of the situation if we assume that Isaac and Jacob and Joseph caused ever-ready scribes to write down the essentials of patriarchal history for future use and guidance.

(4) Canaanite Libraries. It is well known that in the period of the Amarna Letters and of the Judges, writing and literature were cultivated in Canaan. Kiriath-Sepher ("Book-Town") must have been "the seat of a library like those of the great cities of Babylonia and Assyria, — a library which doubtless consisted in large measure of books on clay that may yet be brought to light" (Sayce). It is probable that there were libraries in Canaan at a considerably earlier date. In Babylonia places of worship were also seats of learning, and so every temple had its library. Babylonian precedent would obtain in Canaan in 2000 B. C.

Some German scholars (Winckler, Benzinger, Jeremias, Erbt) have recently come out in support of the view that the old Canaanite sanctuaries (Shechem, Gilgal, Shiloh, etc.,) were the depositories of books and tablets from early times and that these were made use of by the Israelites after the conquest in drawing up the early Old Testament books. The first part of the hypothesis is probable enough, for evidence to that effect is daily accumulating; the second part is less probable, for the essentials of Israelitish history and religion were in possession of the Hebrews when they emerged from Egypt. The view adopted here is that the Hebrews took with them to Egypt the records subsequently used by Moses and others in the composition of the Hexateuch. Nevertheless, the many proofs (recently supplied by excavations) that Canaan was a land of letters from 2000 to 1400 B. C. and thence to the later periods, support the contention that such chapters as Genesis 5, 10 and 14, may be based on old records (Babylonian or Canaanite) preserved at the old sanctuaries.[12]

In any event, whether the first eleven chapters of Genesis are based ultimately on old records carried to Egypt by Jacob and preserved there until the deliverance, or whether they are based in part on old chronicles drawn from Canaanite libraries at Shechem, Kiriath-Sepher, Jerusalem and elsewhere, enough has come to light to warrant the conclusion that the early books of the Bible are not "cunningly devised fables", or sagas, myths and legends, but authentic and well-attested history.

4. *The Antiquity of Genesis XIV.*

Genesis 14 is significant in this connection. It relates that in the days of Amraphel, king of Shinar, four kings from the East under the lead of Chedorlaomer of Elam made war on five vassal kings of Canaan and having defeated in succession a number of tribes, also defeated the five kings in the Vale of Siddim and took booty and captives. Among the latter was Lot. Abraham at once organized his men and the confederate chiefs to undertake the pursuit. In due time he fell upon the enemy "by night" and gained a signal victory, recovering Lot, the goods and the people. The king of Sodom and Melchizedek, king of Salem, meet him upon his return. He is blessed by Melchizedek, to whom he pays tithes. All this is graphically related and conveys the impression of authentic history. The chapter in addition to casting a remarkable side-light on Abraham introduces us to the unique figure of Melchizedek. It is, therefore, in every way a storm-center of criticism, calling forth two antagonistic theories. The section is regarded by the conservatives as ancient, authentic and historical; by the Grafians as late, unreliable and unhistorical.[13] If, now the chapter is based on old sources, it furnishes undoubted proof that this part of Genesis, and presumably others, contain authentic history. If, however, it should turn out that the whole chapter was composed during the Exile on the basis of oral tradition or late sources, not only the teaching of the chapter, but the credibility of Genesis as whole would be undermined. All Bible scholars, therefore, regard the question of age and origin as of far-reaching significance.

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[12] "Instruction and science, fostered at the temples by the priests, were originally introduced into Canaan by the aid of Babylonian cuneiform tablets, which served as basis for study and transmission" (Benz. *Heb. Archaeol.* 2 Aufl., S. 177).

[13] Hommel remarks: "The reader will understand why it is that this fourteenth chapter of Genesis has come to be a sort of shibboleth for the two leading schools of O. T. critics. . . It is the question of the nature of history itself

(1). Identification of Persons and Places. It is a remarkable fact that nearly all the names of persons and places have been identified. Amraphel is a modified form of Hammurabi,[14] king of Babylon. Shinar is Southern Babylonia and perhaps the Hebrew equivalent of Shumer.[15] Chedorlaomer "unquestionably stands for *Kudurlagamar,* a genuine Elamite proper name" (Skinner, *Gen.*, p., 298). That such a character as Chedorlaomer flourished in the time of Abraham is now generally admitted.[16] Arioch, king of Ellasar, is ‘in all probability Eriaku, king of Larsa" (Driver). In "Tidal" many authorities find a *Thudkhula,* whose name occurs in the above Pinches tablets, and in ‘Goiim", a corruption of the word Guti, a powerful people near the Upper Zab.[17]

The orthography of the names varies somewhat in the Heb. Sept. and Samaritan texts, rendering the identification somewhat doubtful. But Sodom, Gomorrah, Admah, Zeboiim are mentioned elsewhere; and plausible identifications have been suggested for the rest.[18] The fact that some editor found it

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which divides the students of the O. T. into two irreconcilable factions" *(An. Heb. Trad.*, p., 64).

[14] Nearly all Assyriologists accept the equivalence; Jensen, Bezold, Meyer express doubt. The *l* of Amraphel has not been explained to the satisfaction of all. According to Hommel "the form Amraphel can be explained only on the supposition that the original of Gen. 14 contained the reading *Ammu-rapaltu.* This would be possible only during the Hammurabi dynasty, for at that period alone do we find the variants *Ammu-rabi* and *Ammi-rabi* side by side with Khammurabi" *(An. Heb. Tr.).*

[15] Some Assyriologists identify the word Shinar with *Singar,* West of Nineveh (Zimmern, Gunkel). Others suggest that it has some connection with the *Sanhar* of the Amarna Letters, and so with the Egyptian *Sangara.* In any event the words *Shinar* and *Shumer* are sufficiently alike etymologically to be traceable to the same root.

[18] "The Elamite royal names are formed from Kudur; and the existence of an Elamite god Lagamar is established" (Holzinger). See, also *Keilinsch. u. A. T.*, p., 485. Three tablets preserved in the Brit. Mus. and translated by Pinches contain a name read provisionally either *Kudurlachgamal* or *Kudurdugmal* and identified with Chedorlaomer.

[17] Sayce, however, suggests that *Goiim* may be retained in the sense of "Nations" and referring to the "hordes" of Northern people mentioned in the inscriptions as invading Assyria.

[18] The Rephaim, Zuzim, Emim, Horites, Amelekites, etc., are ancient people. En-Mishpat, Seir, Elparan, Siddim, Salem, Mamre, and others are places of undoubted antiquity. According to Paton, "it appears that nearly all the names are attested by external evidences, and that no race is mentioned in this chapter which can be shown to belong to a late period" *(Sy. and Pal.,* p., 38).

necessary to explain certain names is a proof of their archaic character. Thus after Bela he inserts, "the same is Zoar"; after En-Mishpat, "the same is Kadesh"; after the Vale of Siddim, "the same is the Salt Sea". Salem is probably Jerusalem, in the Amarna Letters *Urusalem,* an ancient stronghold.[19] So far then as the names of persons and places are concerned, the chapter has every mark of antiquity and authenticity.

(2). Historic Background of Genesis XIV. The question arises whether the appearance of Abraham in such a relation is historical, or whether the account of his victory and of the character of Melchizedek, is a fiction.

a. Grafians Regard the Chapter as Legendary. Since the time of Noeldeke (1869), who dissected the chapter in the style of the negative criticism, some critics (mostly Grafians, whose shibboleth is that the Priest Code, as demanded by a naturalistic scheme of development, is late, 445 B. C.) regard the narrative as fictitious and some of the names pure inventions of the author. Others take a more favorable view, yet without allowing a high degree of historicity. According to Driver, "the campaign may in outline be historical", yet "the narrative, as it stands, contains elements which are not credible."[20] Gunkel regards the chapter as semi-historical, semi-legendary. "The narrative contains ancient historical data, as the names of the four kings and the historical setting of the whole, and the supremacy of the Elamite-Babylonian kings as far as Palestine. The character of Melchizedek may also be historical. . . But the narrative contains inherent impossibilities".[21]

A similar milk-and-water view is entertained by Skinner on *Genesis* (written avowedly from the Grafian standpoint). "It is quite clear that the names are not invented; it is highly probable that they are those of contemporary kings. . . Some such expedition to the West is possibly historical; but everything else belongs to the region of conjecture" (pp. 273, 275).

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[19] The objection has been urged that the occurrence of the word Dan (v. 14) disproves the early date, since Laish did not receive the name Dan until the time of the Judges (Josh. 19: 47). It is, however, more in keeping with the tenor of the chapter to suppose that it was not the later Laish-Dan that is intended, but a place farther South. So W. H. Green, in *"Unity of Genesis"*.

[20] The average American Grafian would doubtless chime in with Wellhausen's *ipse dixit:* "Noeldeke's criticism of Gen. 14 remains unshaken and unanswerable".

[21] "It is utterly inconceivable", says G., "that Abraham with 318 men overcame the army of the world-conquerors". But if Abraham with "trained men" came "by night" and suddenly (as we must suppose) upon this Oriental mob flushed with victory and composed largelv of hirelings bent upon booty, he might well have caused a stampede and accomplished his purpose.

Skinner emphasizes the assumed "inherent improbability or incredibility of many of the incidents recorded", such as the circuitous route of the invaders [but our ignorance of the conditions is dense], the rout of Chedorlaomer's army by 318 "untrained men" [though the narrative says "trained men"] etc., and reaches the conclusion that "the improbabilities" of the chapter "neutralize the impression of trustworthiness which the precise dates, numbers and localities may at first produce" (p., 274).[22]

b. *Historical Character of the Chapter.* On the other hand an increasing number of scholars (even of those accepting some form of the documentary hypothesis) allow that the historic setting of the chapter, even in details, is in remarkable agreement with the political situation in 2000 B. C. "The account", says Jeremias, "corresponds to the historical relations of that early period" (*op. cit.*, p., 345). Even Gunkel says: "The narrative contains ancient, undoubtedly historical data, as the names of the four kings and the historical setting of the whole. . . . . The character of Melchizedek may also be historical". Kittel writes: "It seems to me to be in the highest degree probable that in Genesis 14 we have a historical reminiscence of ancient date. At any rate this theory enables us far more easily to imagine how the passage originated than the other hypothesis does" (*Hist.* I, 178). "It is settled beyond reasonable contradiction that this chapter stands on historic ground" (W. H. Green, *Unity of Gen.*, 198).

c. *Early Babylonian-Canaanite Source.* Much can be said in support of the proposition that the old sanctuaries of Canaan, as Shechem, Hebron, Gilgal, and such centers as Jerusalem and Kiriath-Sepher, were depositories of cuneiform tablets containing such data as those of Genesis 14. Every sanctuary had its priests and scribes; and since the Amarna Letters show that in 1500-1400, Canaan was a land of letters, it may be supposed that cuneiform records of ancient date were carefully preserved. The hypothesis that the chapter under review is a late Jewish fiction (or Midrash) is met by Koenig thus: "If an Exilic Jew had derived it from the Babylonian temple archives, then probably entirely different things would be found in the O. T. than this isolated reference to the old Babylonian period" *(Einl.*, p., 183).[23]

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[22] Skinner holds that "many of the improbabilities spring from a desire to enhance the greatness of Abraham's achievement", though it is not clear why anything in the chapter should be regarded as "enhancing" his glory more than his remarkable career as described in other chapters. Jeremias observes that Gen. 21: 22 (treaty with Abimelech and Phicol) proves that Abraham was reputed to have "military ability" *(op. cit.*, p., 326). "History contains weighty material in proof of the strong personality of Abraham" *(ibid.)*.

[23] Similarly Sayce: "The fourteenth chapter of Genesis is the last portion of the Pentateuch which contains a distinctively Babylonian element. It is the last narrative of which we can say that it was derived from the cuneiform documents of Babylonia, either wholly or in part. . . It was perfectly possible for these documents to have been known in Canaan before the Exodus" *(High. Crit.*, etc.).

Winckler and Jeremias also hold that ancient records were deposited in Shechem and Jerusalem in pre-Israelite times and utilized by those who drew up the J, E and other codes. "We must assume that not only oral but also written sources lay at the basis of the J and E codes, just as the Babylonian accounts of the heroes of the Hammurabi period profess to be copies or elaborations of old sources" (Jeremias, *op. cit.*, p., 326). Dillmann writes: "We are forced to the conclusion that this is a peculiar and in fact ancient document, but one which on account of the mention of Dan and various explanatory clauses passed through the hands of a later editor" *(Gen.* 233).[24]

The writer who has most consistently developed the view of an early source is William Erbt,[25] who argues that Genesis 14 and other early parts of the Pentateuch are based on Babylonian-Canaanite documents preserved in Palestinian sanctuaries and libraries. "Having gained a safe footing", says Erbt, "regarding Melchizedek [who in Erbt's view is a strictly historical figure] we shall not find it difficult to determine the ground for the preservation of the accounts of Abraham's military exploits. They belonged to the archives of the temple at Shechem. Thence the kings of Judah afterward obtained them, in order to turn to account for their political claims the ancient records of the relation of Palestine to the East [this peculiar phase of E's. view is not an essential part of the hypothesis of ancient records]" *(op. cit.*, p., 74). Erbt holds that such records lay concealed for centuries and that some of them may yet come to light.[26] "The objection cannot be made that the Shechem archives did not belong to the Jerusalem kings. Whatever was valuable in Shechem David would have transferred to his capital either in the original or in copies".

From the fact that Shechem was a sanctuary in the time of Abraham (Gen. 12: 6), a city of refuge under Joshua (Josh. 20: 7), and the final burial-place of Joseph (Josh. 24: 32), it was doubtless an important literary center from time immemorial and a rallying-place for the Israelites from the time of the Conquest. Nothing forbids our holding (*contra* Erbt in this regard), that already Joshua and his collaborators would turn to good account any literary and historical treasures found there.[27]

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[24] So Strack: "Gen. 14 is taken from a special and very ancient source". On account of the reference to Abraham as "the Hebrew" (v. 13), Ewald regarded the whole narrative as derived from an old foreign source and as proof of Abraham as an historical character. "The chapter offers every indication that the data bearing upon Palestine belong, not to the late date of Hebrew history, but to very ancient times" (Clay, *Light*, etc., p., 140).

[25] *Die Hebraeer; Kanaan im Zeitalter d. Hebraeischen Wanderung*, etc., von Wilhelm Erbt. Leip., 1906.

[26] Sellin holds that the original source was deposited in the Temple archives in Jerusalem and came under the notice of the compilers of the Pentateuch *(Neue Kirch. Zeitsch.*, XVI).

d. *Abrahamic and Early Hebrew Records.* As seen in previous sections, the question is fundamentally whether there were documents among the Hebrews in pre-Davidic and pre-Mosaic times. If the conclusion reached above is correct, that Abraham may have brought cuneiform records from Ur and have caused simple narratives of his time to be prepared, it follows that the data of this chapter may well have been preserved among the Hebrews and finally incorporated in Genesis. "The balance of probability inclines in favor of a cuneiform original, moreover, not from the post-exilic period, but from Jerusalem in or soon after the time of Abraham, a Hebrew translation of which must have been incorporated into the main stock of the Pentateuch at a very early date" (Hommel, *op. cit.*, 191). The probability that the piece was drawn up by some scribe under the direction of Abraham and afterward revised by an editor would account for the difference in style and some later insertions.[28]

B. WRITTEN SOURCES OF SINAITIC LEGISLATION.

The various strata of the Pentateuch contain facts and principles, not myths and legends. Nothing in ancient history is better attested than that "Israel in the period of its deliverance from Egyptian bondage acquired the fundamentals of its religious and political existence" (Koenig). The whole subsequent history echoes with references to the new era inaugurated by the events of the Exodus (Amos 2: 10; 3: 1; Hos. 11: 1, etc.).[29] The oldest speaking and writing prophets, far from intimating the introduction of a new religion, everywhere trace the laws and institutions of their people to the revelation on Sinai. In this early period there arose unquestionably certain groups of Mosaic laws, as the Decalog, the Book of the Covenant, and the Little Book of the Covenant. Other pieces of the Mosaic age are: the Song of Victory (Ex. 15), the Blessing of Aaron (Num. 6: 24-6), the Signal words (Num. 10: 35), the crossing of the Arnon (Num. 21: 14) and the Triumphal Song on Hebron (Num. 21: 27-30).[30]

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[27] On such grounds Erbt holds that "Abraham appears as a figure of flesh and blood from the Hammurabi period. The narratives of the patriarchal period, extant in the form of family tales, would furnish insight into the pre-historic conditions of Palestine, if only we were able to interpret these records as clearly as the history of the destruction of Sodom by fire from heaven".

[28] Critics who deny the authenticity and credibility of the chapter generally accept without question any and every statement found in the Assyrian inscriptions; and yet the latter are often more or less correct copies of older records. Every one conversant with the original text of the Ass.-Bab. inscriptions knows that variant readings occur. See C. P. Tiele *(Bab.-Assy. Gesch.)* for proof of the incompleteness of the cuneiform inscriptions and their unreliability on other grounds. If the scribes who transcribed old books for Assurbanipals library are to be trusted implicitly, may we not concede at least equal accuracy and honesty to Hebrew scribes and authors?

[29] Wellhausen allows: "If the Israelitish narratives were merely possible, it would be folly to prefer another possibility".

1. *Mosaic Origin of the Decalog.*

One of the assured results of criticism is the direct Mosaic origin of the decalog (at least in its unexpanded form), as attested by the use of writing in the Mosaic age, the linguistic and literary phenomena, the appropriateness of the matter and the existence of such a code in pre-prophetic times. Whether we start from the traditional position that Ex. 20 and Deut. 5 are both Mosaic (the former promulgated at the beginning, the latter at the close of the forty years' wandering), or from the critical view that both are late recensions, we are driven to predicate an essentially Mosaic nucleus underneath both. Some such theory leaves undisturbed the view that Moses promulgated an ethical and religious code of Ten Words, but concedes that there are some later additions. Under this view, the decalog is attested by two witnesses instead of one.[31]

Grafians, except extremists, allow that the ground-work is by Moses. "The decalog is generally held to have been incorporated in E; but the substance is older than E, and may have been taken from the tables of stone in the ark" (Bennett and Ad., *Intr.,* 65). Kautzsch allows that "there would be no valid reason for refusing to attribute to Moses himself a primitive concise form of the Decalogue, were it not for the formidable difficulty presented by *the prohibition of the use of images*" (Hast. *Dic. Bib.* V, p., 634). To this it may be replied in the language of a writer in the same work, "that the non-observance of a religious law is no proof of its non-existence; and, in particular, that as the central sanctuaries possessed no image in the times of Eli, David and Solomon, the prohibition must have been early operative as a recognized part of the pure Mosaic system" (W. P. Patterson, I, p., 581).

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[30] The date of incorporation of these fragments in JE must not be confounded with the date of their origin, which under any view was early. The main parts arose in the period represented in the Bible; there were, however, some later additions.

[31] Some naturalistic critics unflinchingly follow out their pre-arranged schematism. Thus Budde: "It appears that there existed, in the earliest times, a conception of God so sublime that hardly anything could have remained for the prophets to do. This of itself should suffice to show the impossibility of the Mosaic origin of the Ten Commandments" *(Relig. of Israel)*. To the same effect McNeile: "It is difficult to believe that Moses promulgated the Ten Words. . . The literary evidence suggests that in its original form the decalog came into being as a distinct code between E and the rise of the Deuteronomic school, *i. e.* roughly speaking between 750 and 650 B. C. *(Book of Ex.,* p., LXII). McNeile is bound hand and foot by the formula: Covenant Code 850, Deuteronomy 621, Priest Code 445 B. C. Nothing is in the conclusion which is not in the major premise.

So, also, Dillmann: "That such a command, implying the spirituality of God, was too elevated a thought for the time of Moses and therefore not promulgated by him, but incorporated much later, cannot be proved. . . Not to speak of Ex. 32, which prohibits images, it is certain that already in patriarchal times such prohibition is implied, as also in the post-Mosaic period and in the Solomonic temple. . . Amos and Hosea do not announce a new command, but seek to enforce an old one" *(op. cit.,* p., 229). "If anything can be attributed with certainty to Moses, it surely is the *Decalogue,* which lies at the foundation of the whole covenant relation of Jehovah to Israel" (J. Orr, *Problem,* etc., p., 152). The decalog may therefore be regarded as Mosaic in matter and form.

2. *The Book of the Covenant.*

The Book of the Covenant has the following setting: (a), Ex. 20: 1-17, the Ten Words, *i. e.* the ethical and religious law; (b), 20: 22-26, the ceremonial law; (c), 21: 10—23: 33, the social-political law. This sequence is organific and regulative. It follows from Ex. 24: 7 ("Moses took the book of the covenant, etc.,"), that the Book of the Covenant is unique, as being the legitimate outgrowth of the ethico-religious law governing the nation. It and the Decalog fit into each other as necessary complements. It is significant that the Covenant opens with a reaffirmation of the supremacy of Jehovah Ex. 20: 22, 23), as inculcated in the Decalog. The Decalog is absolute, valid for all times and individuals; the Covenant is relative, representing what is best for a given time and people.

As seen above (chap. IV), the discovery of the cuneiform text of the Code Hammurabi sheds new light on the Mosaic laws and is a severe blow against those who deny that the Covenant Code originated under Moses. *The Expository Times* declares: "The discovery and decipherment of the Hammurabi Code is the greatest event in Biblical archæology for many a day". Winckler pronounces it the most important Babylonian record which has thus far been brought to light.[32]

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[32] From the standpoint of human culture and as a mere collection of laws, the Hammurabi Code, as pointed out by jurists like Kohler, Cohn and Dareste, is

On account of the similarity of some sections to the Hammurabi Code, critics are beginning to admit that the Covenant Code may after all be very ancient. Indeed, Wellhausen in the latest edition of the *Prolegomena* (1905) writes: "I believe that the agricultural legislation in Ex. 21—23 is fundamentally Canaanitish, *i. e.* pre-Israelitish" (p., 392). On this an out-and-out Grafian remarks: "This admission of Wellhausen is significant. And we shall scarcely go astray in assuming that the master of the *historical-development* school, was impelled to this change of position by the fact that the discovery of the celebrated old Babylonian Code seriously endangered his widely accepted hypothesis that Israelitish law is of late date and subsequent to the prophets" (Puukko, *Das Deuteronomium,* p., 36). If the Babylonians in 2000 B. C. could draw up the Code Hammurabi, why might not Moses a thousand years later have drawn up a similar code? The followers of Wellhausen have not answered the question.

Recent criticism regards the Covenant Code as very ancient. F. Giesebrecht in a monograph on the Sinaitic covenant points out that even the most radical critics *(e. g.* Kraetzmar and Steuernagel) see in J and E traces of a covenant which must be regarded as having "the character of the highest antiquity"; and in fact "the Sinaitic Covenant has a strong claim to antiquity and historicity. . . The result of our investigation is that the historically real and prophetically mediated relation between Jehovah and Israel received official authentication in a formal act which we may unquestionably call a covenant . . which was formed when Moses after the deliverance from Egypt led a grateful people to Sinai" *(Geschichtlichk. d. M. Bundes,* p., 64).[33]

Finally, "if the Decalogue is allowed to be Mosaic, there is little reason for denying that the remaining laws ('judg-

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superior to the Mosaic legislation. But "the moral undertone of the Book of the Covenant, reverence toward God, love to neighbor, humane treatment of animals, and the great underlying thoughts of the Decalog, are lacking in the Code Hammurabi. The latter has no law implying even remotely the philanthropic grandeur of Ex. 23: 4, 5: "If thou meet thine enemy's ox or ass going astray, thou shalt surely bring him back", etc. We have here the paradox of a people comparatively low in culture producing the highest pre-Christian ethics; and of a people of high culture lacking in the monotheistic and ethical instincts. See, further, A. S. Zerbe, on "The Code Hammurabi and the Mosaic Book of the Covenant" in *Reformed Ch. Rev.,* Jan. and Apr., 1905.

[33] Although B. Baentsch regards the book as dating from the ninth century, he allows that "in its present form it is to be distinguished from the original work" and is based on early sources *(Bundesb.,* 120). In a later work, B. concedes somewhat more to the originating activity of Moses *(Monotheismus,* p., 83). Steuernagel concedes that the covenant has "such archaic features that the possibility of its describing the actual course of events must be allowed".

ments') of the Book of the Covenant, with which the Ten Words stand in so close a connection, also proceeded from Moses in *substantially* their present form" (Orr, *op. cit.*, p., 154).

3. *The Little Book of the Covenant.*

In Ex. 34: 10, 28 we read: "Jehovah said, Behold, I make a covenant. . . And Moses wrote upon the tables the words of the covenant, the Ten Commandments". The section 34: 10-28 is regarded by some critics as J's summary of the Sinai legislation and is called the Little Book of the Covenant to distinguish it from the Great Book of the Covenant (Ex. 21—23) by E. The question arises whether the (Ten) Commandments of 34: 28 are those of 20: 3-17, or other Commandments presumably contained in the Little Book of the Covenant.[34] The text is in some confusion, as even conservative critics admit. It is not essential to our purpose to decide the matter. As G. Vos says: "After the Covenant had been broken, the second law (ch. 28) was of course written separately after the analogy of the first" *(Mosaic Origin* etc., p., 204). The fact, admitted by all, is that Moses was directed to write this section, or at any rate the underlying stratum. This is additional proof of the literary activity of Moses.

4. *The Memorial against Amalek.*

According to Ex. 17: 14 Jehovah directed Moses to write "a memorial in a book".[35] This stands in an E connection and is admittedly ancient. "It is evident that the writer would not have expressed himself thus, if he had not had a written record (going back to Moses) of this Amalek-War and God's command" (Vos, p., 200). The passage is a clear proof that Moses or his scribes wrote *something*, as Dillmann remarks, "to blot out the memory of Amalek from under heaven, even his very name". If such an episode was worthy of record, much more the weightier matters of that day.[36]

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[34] "The so-called second Decalogue of J in 34: 12-26, is, in fact, pretty much, as scholars are coming to see, a figment of the critical imagination" (Orr, p., 153). Addis regards the division into ten as mere guess work. Kittel: "It requires the utmost arbitrariness to find in it the number ten".

[35] The margin of the Am. Rev., following an alternative Hebrew reading, has "the book". "The most plausible interpretation, is that which the Massorah intimated by adding the article; viz., Moses was accustomed to commemorate important events and commands, and that this book, the origin of our present Pentateuch, is referred to by God" (Vos, p., 202).

[36] McNeile, contrary to his usual scepticism, says: "Moses probably learnt some form of writing when he was brought up in Egypt. . . At any rate it [the Hebrew alphabet] dates from a period long before the Exodus" *(op. cit.*, p., 103).

5. *The Song of Moses and Miriam.*

The so-called "Song of Moses", Ex. 15: 1-18, is, in conception and forceful language, one of the finest examples of Hebrew lyric poetry. Omitting vs. 1 and 18, it may be divided into three strophes: I, verses 2-5; II, 6-10; III, 11-17.[37] The first two strophes, as shown by the language and thought, are archaic;[38] so also the third, except that the latter part of v. 15, "all the inhabitants of Canaan are melted away", seems to have been added after the conquest. A considerable body of critics (Del., Dill., Strack) hold that the ode was written out shortly after the event commemorated. Others contend that though the first two strophes may be early, the third is late.[39] In brief, scholars vary a thousand years in the date — a striking example of the uncertainty of criticism.[40]

From the fact that the verbs generally, especially in vs. 8 and 10, are in the past tense and for other reasons, we incline to the view that the poem was composed in Canaan shortly after the occupation; the poet by a bold figure conceives the entrance into Canaan as but a logical result of the passage of the sea. The ode in its present form is not absolutely Mosaic, but rather an elaboration of a brief song uttered at the time.[41]

Correct. The evidence is daily accumulating that Moses wrote in the archaic Phœnician script and that the Hebrew Bible from the first was written (not in cuneiform), but in the Hebrew language and script.

[37] So Keil, Dillmann, Holzinger, Baentsch. There are various other divisions. A good one is by P. Haupt into 9 stanzas of 4 Meshalim, or two Massoretic verses each. See *Am. Jour. Sem. Lang.*, XX, 149—72 and Sievers *Metrische Stud.*, p., 408.

[38] Contrary to McNeile, we regard the style and vocabulary as early, with the possible exception of a very few words in strophe III. *Archaisms:* the pronoun *zu* v. 13 and 16, and the absence of the article 8-10, 12; the pronominal suffixes *mo* and *mu* (nine times, *hem* only once) and *kemo;* also *alluphe* and *ele*, v. 15, etc. The alleged Aramaisms are not necessarily late. "Several words which are common in Aramaic are archaic (and poetic) in Hebrew" (Haupt, p., 152).

[39] Moore is certain that "17 b — which there is no formal reason for regarding as an interpolation — speaks of the building of the temple" *(En. Bib.,* col. 1450). *Das geht nicht an. Makon* und *Mikkadesh* sind fortschreitende Appositionen zu 'dem Berge deines Erbteils', indem der Dichter nach Nennung des Allgemeinen, des Landes, nun fortschreitet zur Nennung des Speciellen, worauf er hinzielt (v. 13), der Wohnstaette oder des Heiligtums Gottes in diesem Land, an welchem auch dieses Festlied gesungen wurde (nach Dillmann).

[40] Dates suggested: older critics, Mosaic age; Del., Dill. etc., 1280; Reuss, 950; Grafians generally, 850-650; Bender, 450; Haupt 350. Referring to Bender's date, Haupt says: "It is quite possible that it is a century later, it may have been inserted long after the completion of the Pentateuch" *(op. cit.,,* p., 154).

[41] According to Kittel, "the older form, which perhaps came down from the very days of Moses, is here transformed into an artistically membered psalm for the use of the people in Canaan. Probably it is from an ancient song-book" *(Hist.,* I., p., 207). It may have been copied from the Book of Wars of Jehovah. Strack says: "In its present form, the poem is a Festival-Ode in commemoration of the deliverance of Israel from the pursuing Egyptians. The closing strophe, and accordingly the completion of the whole Song, may be assigned to the period shortly after the conquest of Canaan. Neither v. 13, nor 17 requires us to go down to the Davidic age" *(Kom.,* p., 214).

6. *The J and E Codes Ancient.*

The parts of the Pentateuch reviewed in the preceding sections and assigned by the critics (Grafian and Dillmann) to the J and E codes, contain very ancient matter, going back in some cases to the Mosaic age. How much of the remainder is Mosaic, or post-Mosaic, is in dispute, as is also the question when the bulk of J and E were written.[42] The evidence adduced in the foregoing pages warrants the conclusion that the nucleus, if not a very considerable part of these codes, originated in the Mosaic-Joshua period, or not long thereafter. With the exception of a few passages, the whole of the matter in J and E (so far as the language and historical setting are concerned) might well have been composed in the pre-monarchical period. Some editor probably revised the underlying strata and combined them into the organic whole lying before us. These so-called J and E narratives, as based on early documents, accordingly take us back almost, if not quite to the Mosaic age.[43]

C. THE PROBLEM OF THE BOOK OF DEUTERONOMY.

According to the traditional view the book of Deuteronomy was written in substantially its present form by Moses; in the Grafian scheme it was compiled some time between 721 and 621 B. C. (see above, pp., 10, 12, 13). Both parties are certain of the correctness of their position. The problem of reconciling the rival claims is too complicated to receive full treatment here; only what pertains to the possibility of underlying Mosaic strata need be considered here.

1. *Dilemma of Criticism.*

Critics who claim that the book arose in the Manasseh-Josiah period are involved in an awkward dilemma in explaining how an author could make it appear that a book on which the ink was scarcely dry was from Moses.

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[42] Gunkel holds that when J and E were compiled "there was an extensive collection of literature, of which the extant remains are only fragments, just as the three Synoptists are only remains of a more extensive early Christian literature". Sayce believes that the cuneiform originals of parts of J and E are pre-Mosaic. "It was perfectly possible for these documents to have been known in Canaan before the Exodus" *(High. Crit.,* p., 171).

[43] According to Koenig, the J code is composed of parts and sections both Mosaic and pre-Mosaic and was brought into its present shape (substantially) in the period of the Judges. It was compiled at one of the sanctuaries, probably Shiloh. Koenig adduces as proof of his contention a number of linguistic arguments too technical to be reproduced here. That E drew from ancient narratives is admitted by all critics. Dillmann says: "The author unquestionably made use of written sources, of which there were many in his day. That he did not compose, but incorporate Ex. 20-23 is clear; other sources are the register of stations (Num. 21: 4-35) and the Book of the Wars of Jehovah, from which he may have derived his account of other wars".

(1). A Pious Fraud. Critics of the extreme left boldly declare that the work was a "pious fraud" in the interest of a desired reform. Kuenen says: "It is certain that an author of the seventh century has made Moses himself proclaim that which in his opinion it was expedient to the real interests of the Mosaic party to announce and introduce". Cornill: "We must recognize the fact that we have here a pseudograph, and that this was known to the persons interested". Holzinger: "The book is in any event a pseudograph. . . It represents itself unquestionably as a work of Moses".[44] After declaring in the manner of the Grafians that "the Josianic law-book marks a turning-point in the spiritual development of Israel", Holzinger properly enough asks: "Does then a turning-point in the spiritual history of mankind rest on a fraud?" Betraying the real inwardness of his school, Holzinger unflinchingly declares: "Even a decided affirmative answer were not a result of a naturalistic view of history nor an introduction of the same" *(op. cit.,* 330). Why not? Is not the whole Grafian scheme *primarily* a naturalistic, evolutionistic philosophy, and only *secondarily* a literary-historical study? Here the paths of the consistent theist and of the pantheist lead in diametrically opposite directions. Holzinger makes a weak attempt to show that the authors of the deception were prompted by *pure* motives! ![45] The thought is abhorrent.

(2). Imaginative Revivification of the Past. Less radical Grafians urge that all can be explained by a well-known literary expedient, namely that of attributing supposed speeches to ancient worthies. Such is the view of Driver: "The imaginative revivification of the past, by means of discourses, conversations and even of actions, attributed dramatically to characters who have figured upon the stage of history, has been abundantly exemplified in literature. . . The dialogues of Plato, the tragedies of Shakespeare, the *Paradise Lost* and even the poem of Job . . . have never been condemned as immoral frauds" *(Deut.,* p., LVIII).

It is to be noted, however, that in such cases the reader knows from the setting whether he has before him a novel, a scientific treatise, or an epic poem.[46] So here, the impression from first to last is that created by a book intended to be understood in its natural sense as an account of actual, and not imagined situations. We cannot avoid the suspicion that the author, if living in the Manasseh-Josiah period, was guilty of deception in representing an unreal situation as truly historical. In fact, however, Driver, far from placing Deuteronomy in the same category with the writings of Dante, and Shakespeare (as consistency would require), considers it as essentially historical. Many of the laws are repeated from the Book of the Covenant; others are attested by the Law of Holiness, and others still, on internal grounds, are clearly ancient. In fact Deuteronomy, says Driver, may be described as the prophetic reformulation of an older legislation. The author of Deuteronomy in thus combining the laws "into a manual for the guidance of the people cannot be held guilty of dishonesty or literary fraud". This is a subtle explanation; but all depends on the amount of matter which is actually attested and accepted as Mosaic, and that which is merely an elaboration of, or a deduction from, Mosaic principles. If the former be the meaning of Driver, we see no serious objection; if the latter, then the door is opened for whatever the seventh century writer chose to regard as a legitimate development of Mosaism. Obviously, such a procedure, if carried to an extreme (as might well be the case), would issue, if not in a "pious fraud", a "pseudograph", then certainly in something like a historical novel, which might be interesting as a work of the imagination, but valueless as the basis of religion.

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[44] Holz. adds: "Whether merely the king and people, or also the finders [of the book described in 2 K. 22] were deceived, or whether some old prophet or a commission falsely attributed the book to Moses, matters not" *(Einl.,* 330).

[45] Cheyne entertains a similar view: "Such conduct as that of Hilkiah is, I maintain, worthy of an inspired *(sic!)* leader and statesman in that age and under those circumstances".

2. *Language and Style.*

The view that Deuteronomy is substantially an early book encounters at once the objection that the style, language and form are late. The style in comparison with J, E, and P is not decisive either way. In fact so far as mere style goes, the Hebrew is less ornate and finished than that of J or E, and so would indicate an earlier date. As to the vocabulary and language, no Hebraist would claim that we have anything more than a relative criterion for determining the age of a Hebrew composition, since the extent of Hebrew literature is too small and the absolute dates too few to enable us to reach a final judgment. The *hapaxlegomena* warn us to be cautious in fixing the date of an Old Testament book on the basis of vocabulary and form. Koenig reminds us that "the foreign judge of a literature like the ancient Hebrew cannot always certainly know what elements of language are too old or too recent for a given author". If we take our departure from the Song of Deborah, and the prophets Amos, First Isaiah, and Micah, whose date is agreed upon, and whose language and style indicate centuries of literary activity in Israel, we may confidently affirm that the chief parts of the book (excepting some editorial glosses), so far as mere language and diction are concerned, may well have originated in premonarchical, and even, Mosaic times.[47]

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[46] The reader of Kingley's Hypatia, Wallace's Ben Hur, or any historical novel, is not misled into supposing that he is reading veritable history.

3. *Historical Situation that of Mosaic Age.*

A remarkable feature of the book is the constant reference direct or indirect to the Egypt of the time of Moses, and the entire absence of any allusion to the nations of a later period. It may of course be maintained that the Deuteronomist successfully imposed his work on the public by excluding any reference to post-Mosaic events. But it has often been shown that it is psychologically and historically impossible for a writer to conceal all traces of his age and environment.[48] The political, social and religious conditions of the Manasseh-Josiah age were entirely different from those implied in the book, which are those of the Egypt of Menerptah.[49]

No Egyptologist has yet succeeded in showing that the representations of the book do not correspond accurately with the state of affairs in the Mosaic age. Conversely we find in Deuteronomy not the slightest trace of the activity of the Assyrian kings of the seventh century, nor any reference direct or implied to the stirring events in Israel during this period. If the book were written to meet the conditions in the Southern

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[47] Linguistic evidence of antiquity is adduced by Koenig (than whom there is no higher authority in Europe): "Just as the Covenant Book has alongside of *anokhi* also a few *ani*, so beside the many *anokhi* (26 times in the phrase *asher anokhi)*, there are also two *ani*, one in chs. 12—26, the other in 29: 13. Further, the characteristic *un* in the perfect, 8: 3, 16 is perhaps only an imitation of the imperfect *un*, to prevent hiatus and is found also in Is. 26: 16" *(Einl.* 215).

[48] Literary forgeries, like those of Chatterton, Macpherson, the pseudo-Phaleris and others, though for a time escaping detection, have always been exposed when once subjected to a rigid criticism. In each instance the writer betrayed himself by glaring anachronisms and contradictions. It would not have been otherwise here.

[49] "The nearly two-score references to Egypt by name alone are of unmistakable significance. In eleven only of the 34 chapters do we fail to find them. They abound equally in every part — laws as well as history. More than half the references are to Israel's deliverance and the signal manner of it" (Bissell. *Pent.).*

Kingdom, one would expect to find at least some allusion to contemporaneous events and circumstances; but nothing of the kind is found in the whole book. This singular fact has never been explained by the new criticism. The only answer of Driver and his school is that the writer so skillfully suppressed all contemporary allusions and was so deeply steeped in Egyptian antiquities that he successfully hoodwinked everybody but the astute nineteenth century critics — a claim which would stamp the author as the most adroit literary forger of history.

4. *No Reference to Jerusalem.*

One of the peculiarities of the book according to the Grafians is the emphasis laid on the central place of worship, and yet no reference at all is made to the temple in Jerusalem, or to its service and altar. The command is given: "Unto the place which Jehovah your God shall choose out of all your tribes, to put his name there, even unto his habitation shall ye seek, and thither shalt thou come" (12: 5). The writer never advances beyond this, though the matter is referred to nearly a score of times. The "high places", the Baal worship and the Asherim were to be exterminated, and yet the great central sanctuary is never even hinted at. This seems utterly inexplicable if the book were composed in the age of Josiah and had as its aim the centralization of worship in Jerusalem. The book under this view is entirely too tame and colorless; but all is in harmony if the work originated in the Mosaic age.

5. *Moses Represented as Author.*

Against the dictum of Driver that Deuteronomy nowhere professes to be written by Moses, it may be confidently affirmed that it everywhere is represented as emanating from him. At least nine-tenths of the book may be regarded as ascribed to him. "The name of the lawgiver is found 37 times in the book, and in the great majority of cases it is introduced with the special purpose of connecting him authoritatively with its matter. The strictly legislative portion (chaps. 12-26) shares this peculiarity equally with the historical, the first person being used without exception. Omitting the last chapter, there are less than a half dozen exceptions to this uniform classification" (Bissell, p., 260). Moses is represented as responsible not merely for the matter, but equally so for the literary form. It is affirmed (31: 9, 24) that he wrote it "to the end". If it be objected that such words as "this law", "this book of the law", restrict the reference to a mere fraction, it is sufficient to remark that the parts are so interwoven that such phrases must refer to the book up to a certain place.

It is entirely in accord with the fitness of the occasion that "when Moses had made an end of writing the words of this law in a book, until they were finished that Moses commanded the Levites . . . take this book of the law and put it by the side of the covenant of Jehovah your God, that it may be there for a witness against thee" (31 : 24, 5). In every part of the book language is used which is represented as uttered by Moses, as, "We saw the sons of the Anakim" (1 : 28) ; "I commanded Joshua at that time, etc.," (3 : 21) ; "your eyes have seen all that Jehovah did because of Baal-Peor" (4 : 3) ; "I speak not with your children, who have not known etc.," ; "Ye have seen all that Jehovah did before your eyes" (29 : 3-5). This language surely purports to come from Moses ; and if it was not used by him, it is a remarkable case of impersonation, if not of literary forgery, for the writer represents himself, as reproducing, not what Moses might have said, but the exact words of Moses. If the theory of Mosaic authorship (of the underlying strata) be rejected, we are driven logically (despite the protestations of Driver) to the revolutionary hypothesis of "a pseudograph", "a pious fraud", as Kuenen and Holzinger admitted.

6. *Antecedent Probability of Mosaic Basis.*

The theory that the book in substance comes from the Mosaic age is antecedently probable. Driver allows "a tradition, if not a written record of a final legislative address by Moses". So, also, Oettli : "It is probable that Moses before his death impressed upon the people the substance of the divine covenant ; and so the Deuteronomic addresses may rest, as says Delitzsch, on a traditional substratum." Oettli refutes the Grafian view that since Deuteronomy was the basis of the Josianic reform, it was also written about that time. Allowing that the book of Kings contains references to Deuteronomy, Oettli asks whether we are bound to infer that the book arose in the circle which inaugurated the reforms? "The account in 2 K. 22 excludes such a supposition. The use of the article in the phrase 'the book of the law', is explained naturally if understood of an early well-known, temporarily forgotten, but now discovered book. . . The objections to the view that Deuteronomy may have been forgotten for a time are not well sustained. More than one great reformation has been effected by those who did not plan it, but who in the whole development were instruments in the hands of God. Even under Josiah the requirements of Deuteronomy were only partly carried out; in fact some provisions, as those regarding the Levites, were not enforced".[50]

The rare references to Deuteronomy in the pre-Josianic period are regarded by Oettli as proving nothing. "The history of Israel is not, as some critics assume, a literary-historical one, but an entirely free development conditioned by circumstances not definitely known at present. How circumstantial is the literary authentication of the oldest strata [*i. e.* JE in critical parlance] of the Torah even in Isaiah![51] Need we marvel that the prophets (who often quote from memory) contain only a few direct references to Deuteronomy?" *(Op. cit.*, p., 20). However, the number of quotations is sufficiently numerous to establish the claim that Deuteronomy was extant in the eighth century. Let the reader compare the following: Amos 2: 8 and Deut. 8: 2; Hos. 4: 4 and Deut. 17: 12; Hos. 3: 1 and Deut. 7: 8 and 31: 18; Hos. 5: 10; Deut. 19: 14; Is. 7, 12, Deut. 6: 16.[52]

7. Alleged Anachronisms and Contradictions.

It is alleged that anachronisms and contradictions mark a later than the Mosaic age. Much of the matter said to be late is in the form of introductory statements, quite germane to the context. Thus 1: 2, "there are 11 days journey from Horeb . . . unto Kadesh-Barnea", is meaningless in the mouth of Moses, but quite natural as an explanatory clause of a later writer. We, however, face a real problem.[53] Are the marks of a post-Mosaic age so numerous as to forbid an early origin of the underlying sources? Of the discrepancies urged by Driver, some have real, others only apparent, force.

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[50] Oettli adds: "The removal of the high places under Hezekiah, 2 K. 18: 4; 21: 3, even if temporary, must have been based on Deuteronomy. . . In short 2 K. 18: 6, referring to the reform under Hezekiah, employs a characteristically Deuteronomic phrase, viz., 'he kept his commandments which Jehovah commanded Moses'. . . If Hezekiah had not known the Deuteronomic prohibition of the high places, he would either not have proceeded against them, or would have shared the common view of their legality".

[51] Since the pre-Josianic prophets rarely quote from J and E, consistency would require the Grafians to place these codes, not in the eighth century, but in the sixth cent. B. C. The argument *e silentio* signally fails here, as generally.

[52] Oettli (who accepts some form of the critical analysis) regards the tendency of the Grafians to limit the aim of Deuteronomy almost exclusively to the centralization of the worship as one-sided. "Das ist *eine* seiner Forderungen, aber weder die urspruenglichste, noch auch die wichtigste, sondern nur ein Ausfluss seiner *Vertiefung des Bundesgedankens" (op. cit.,* 21).

[53] Since the custom of supplementing the text by foot-notes was unknown in ancient times, additional matter was incorporated in the text. Thus in *Herodotus* (Bk. I, 125), the narrative of Cyrus is interrupted by a description of the Persian tribes. Those who claim a direct Mosaic authorship allow that the last eight verses and some others are later additions.

(1). The first of Driver's objections is that "the differences between the laws of Deut. and those of Exodus 21-23 tend to show that the two codes are separated from each other by a considerable interval of time" (p., XLVI). Now it has always been held that Ex. 20-23, constitute the moral and civil code. Then came the so-called Priest Code (Ex. 25-40), the whole of Leviticus and most of Numbers, relating to the sanctuary and ritual. Finally, nearly forty years after the Exodus, the third stratum, known as the Deuteronomic code, was promulgated by Moses in the plains of Moab. This latter code, looking forward to conditions in Canaan, was both a recapitulation and an expansion of the original organic law. So far forth there is truth in Driver's position. All parties agree that both JE and D are prophetic and that Moses was endowed with the prophetic spirit. Deuteronomy, as both legalistic and prophetic, might on antecedent grounds be regarded as the work of the prophetic lawgiver.

But Driver urges that the modifications in Deuteronomy are "adapted to meet the needs of a more developed state of society" than at the Exodus. If, however, as shown above, the Hebrews at the Exodus were not the ignorant horde of the Grafian critics, and if, moreover, the legislation is to some extent anticipatory, the argument of Driver is illicit. Apart from a dozen or so passages, generally conceded as later insertions, the plea of Driver and Holzinger is not of such a character as to disprove the essential Mosaicity as to matter and form.

(2). Again, says Driver, "the law of the kingdom, (17: 14-20) is colored by reminiscenses of the monarchy of Solomon". But this law contemplates the time when the demand for a king would arise. "With the knowledge of what the kings of Egypt and Canaan were, what less could have been expected of such a man as Moses, to say nothing of the fact that our book represents him as a prophet?" (Bissell, p., 142). Moreover, certain things in the law would have been meaningless in the seventh century, as the injunction that no foreigner should be chosen, or that the people should not be led back to Egypt. The people of Samuel's time seem to know the law, for they employ Deuteronomic langauge, "make us a king to judge us like all the nations" (1 S. 8: 5). It is probable, too, that the word "testimony" (2 K. 11: 12), occurring in the account of Joash's coronation (837) implies the existence of this book.[54]

(3). "The forms of idolatry alluded to, especially the worship of the host of heaven (4: 10; 17: 3) point to a date not earlier than the second half of the eighth century B. C." (Driver). But "it is indisputable that sun, moon and star worship was one of the most primitive and universal forms of idolatry among the leading nations with which the Hebrews during the Mosaic period came into contact. . . Hence, so far from finding it strange that we meet with an alleged Mosaic law of this sort in Deuteronomy, we should think it strange if under the circumstances supposed it were not there." (Bissell).

(4). The phrase "beyond the Jordan", says Driver, means East of the Jordan and so implies that the author was a resident of Western Palestine. The Hebrew, literally "at the crossing of", is in itself colorless, and so demands some qualifying word to determine the exact force. It occurs ten times in Deuteronomy: 1: 1, 5; 3: 8, 20, 25; 4: 41, 46, 47, 49; 11: 30. In 3: 20, 25; and 11: 30, the standpoint of the writer is clearly East of the Jordan. The remaining passages are generally accompanied by some limiting clause, as "on this side Jordan in the land of Moab". The phrase being ambiguous cannot be quoted either way.

Even if the alleged discrepancies should in part be allowed, they pertain to such a relatively small part of the book as not to impair the essential integrity.[55]

8. *The Closing Chapters.*

While the divisive critics assign chaps. 1—26, and 28 to the Deuteronomist, they parcel out the remaining parts to a variety of sources.[56]

(1). *The Song of Moses.* Both the date and the authorship of the so-called "Song of Moses", 32: 1-43, are variously assigned. "The line of thought and the phraseology of the poem", says Driver, "point to an age much later than that of Moses". On the other hand Dillmann says: "The Jehovist must have regarded it as handed down under the name of Moses. If we recall that other pieces passed under the name of Moses (Deut. 33; Ps. 90), which indeed are not from the same author, but yet have points of contact in linguistic phenomena, we are driven to the conclusion that in the prophetic circles of the Northern kingdom there existed in early times prayers and admonitions associated with the name and authority of Moses and that later writers drew from such older sources." Of all critics, Klostermann[57] has given the most elaborate analysis and reached the conclusion that it was "none other than Moses whom Jehovah through a special revelation concerning the future course of Israel's history inspired to write the poem" and that "the children of Israel treasured it in their memories". In fact, "the song lays claim to being understood in no other way than as indicated in 31: 16-22 and was from the first ever transmitted with the statement that it was written by Moses as a witness for the future" *(op. cit.,* 366).[58]

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[54] Driver allows that "the nucleus of the law may be ancient" and that the prohibition of a "foreigner" "may well be an old one". Oettli says: "Das Koenigsgesetz enthaelt rein nichts, was den Verdacht spaeterer Einfuegung rechtfertigte".

[55] Puukko, the most recent critic on Deuteronomy *(Das Deuteronomium,* 1910), holds that the Josianic or original Deuteronomy contained only parts of chapters 12, 14, 15, 26, 16, 17, 13, 18, 23, 19, the remainder being added later. He finds fault in one point or another with practically all the earlier and later critics, and at the end of his analysis we have a meager skeleton of late date.

[56] According to Driver, 27: 4-7; 31: 14, 15, 23; 34: 1-6, fall to JE. Driver formerly gave ch. 32 to JE. More recently he says: "more probably from an unknown source". So also 33 is "of unknown origin". 32: 48-52; 34: 1, 8-9, fall to P. The rest is assigned in general to D.

(2) The Blessing of Moses. The fact that the dates assigned by the divisive critics to the "Blessing of Moses", Deut. 33, differ some seven or eight centuries, affords a striking illustration of some of the uncertainties of the Higher, or Literary Historical criticism. Of two equally competent Hebrew scholars and lexicographers,[59] one assigns the authorship to a writer of the Babylonian Exile, the other to Moses himself.

Nor are critics able to decide whether the poem stands in J, E, D, P, or some other stratum. Some assign it to an altogether independent source. It must be confessed that the conclusions of criticism here are mutually destructive; with equal assurance Graf and Stade assign it to the age of Jeroboam II, Kleinert and Koenig to that of the Judges.

Though critics are wholly at sea as to the date, they in general incline to the view that the poem contains very early strata.[60] "That the Song is very ancient and unique is universally admitted. In view of the rich and characteristic diction one is disposed to assign it a high antiquity; but the only certain datum is that it implies the occupation of Canaan. No decisive ground, in my judgment, exists against placing it in the early years of David's reign". "Though not Mosaic, the Blessing is certainly ancient" (Driver).

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[57] In *"Der Pentateuch,* I, 1893; and II, 1907.

[58] Volck claims that Klostermann has established absolutely his thesis *(Der Segen Mose's,* 168). "The Song must have been old enough to be currently attributed to Moses when 31: 16-22 was written" (Driver).

[59] The former is Gesenius, author of a Hebrew lexicon; the latter, Volck, one of the later editors of the same lexicon, who wrote a learned brochure of nearly 200 pages on *"Der Segen Mose's"*, adducing linguistic and archæological proof of the Mosaic origin.

After an exhaustive examination of the dates assigned by critics, Volck reaches the conclusion that "a whole series of data" in the poem itself points to the Mosaic age as the best attested. The Blessing was incorporated in the book when the final chapters were compiled. Though Volck wrote in 1873 he anticipated substantially the position of the later negative criticism.[61]

9. *Ancient Strata in Deuteronomy.*

It is allowed by all except the most radical critics that very ancient strata are imbedded in Deuteronomy (Dillmann, Koenig, Kittel, Oettli, Klostermann). According to Dill., Deuteronomy contains old and genuinely Mosaic material, and not merely expansions of laws in JE (Driver). These ancient records are lost, but we can affirm that they formed the basis of considerable parts of the book. "Special references to old statutes occur: thus the formula, 'as Jehovah hath spoken' (6: 19; 9: 3; 11: 25) doubtless implies a written source; so also 10: 9; 18: 2, Levi's inheritance, must be a citation". Oettli says: "Our investigation shows that the author drew from ancient written sources, which in many cases demonstrably go back to the Mosaic period". According to Koenig Deuteronomy contains older and later material, part of which arose in the period of the Judges.[62]

The theory of a genuinely Mosaic substratum (adopted here) *i. e.* of sources and documents reaching to the Mosaic and Joshuanic age, differs radically from the evolutionistic hypothesis, according to which there were no documents until the monarchical period, and according to extremists no such legislator as Moses. The ordinary naturalistic hypothesis is to the effect that in some way unknown to the Grafians, the name of Moses came to be associated with the fundamental laws of Israel; and so some genius of the Manasseh-Josiah age, boldly manufactured Deuteronomy 5—26 (or 12—26), "out of the whole cloth", assuming that his readers would be such simpletons as not to be able to detect the deception. *Credat Judaeus Apella! !*

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[60] Volck writes: "Wenn sie [die neuere Kritik] uns bald die Zeit der Richter, bald die des beginnenden Koenigthums, bald die des ersten, bald die des zweiten Jerobeam, bald die des Koenigs Josia empfiehlt, so geht doch aus solch unsicherem Herumtasten hervor, dass die Segenssprueche im Ganzen in einer grossen Unbestimmtheit und Allgemeinheit gehalten sein muessen. Denn wie erklaerte sich's sonst, dass man bald auf diese, bald auf jene Zeit verfaellt?" *(op. cit.,* 154).

[61] Critics who ascribe the Blessing to Moses, admit that some verses, as 1, 2, 5, 27, 28, are later additions.

[62] Klostermann, who pursues an independent course over against the new views as well as the old, argues that according to content and literary form, the book arose in the Moses-David period. The fact that neither Jerusalem nor Samaria, neither temple nor priests, kings nor prophets, are mentioned, and that the hypothesis of a *"muessigen schriftstellerischen Luege"* is not to be thought of, compel the inference, that the substance of the book goes back *"bis an die klassische und vorbildliche Zeit des Mose"*.

The theory which upon the whole seems best supported is that some editor, having access to, and desiring to bring into systematic shape, the scattered records of the last acts and words of Moses, wrote out the so-called Deuteronomic code, that is substantially the present book of Deuteronomy.

Two points are not capable of exact determination: 1, the date of the editor; 2, the component parts of the original Deuteronomy. Neither the age of Josiah, nor that of Manasseh meets the conditions of the problem. More can be said in favor of the age of Hezekiah. But if we go back thus far, the same reasons justify a much earlier date. And in view of the fact that the bulk of the matter suits the period of the Judges and indeed the early part of it, and since four-fifths of the book have no relevancy to conditions in the monarchical period, the essential contents must have originated in the Moses-Joshua, and the remainder in the Joshua-Samuel period. It would seem that the first four and last eight chapters were integral parts of the book almost from the first.[63]

10. *The Transmission of Deuteronomy.*

How was the book of Deuteronomy transmitted to the time of Josiah? It has been pointed out that the Hebrews exercised the same care as the Egyptians and Babylonians in preserving copies of their sacred books in sanctuaries. There is no reason to doubt that official copies of the Hebrew scriptures from the time of Joshua onward were deposited at Bethel, Shechem, Shiloh and other places for safe keeping.[64] From the time of Solomon the sacred writings as well as the state chronicles were deposited in the Temple. The correctness of this view has recently received support from an unexpected quarter.

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[63] If according to the naturalistic critics, the whole Mosaic age has been "wiped out" through the post-Exilic date of the Priest Code (Duhm), the logical inference is that no such book as Deuteronomy could have originated in that age. The Grafians are driven by the terms of their hypothesis to predicate a late date. According to the Vatke-Kuenen-Wellhausen philosophy of history, the book must on *a priori* grounds be late. We have here a species of *dogmatism* surpassing anything ever charged against the old view. The Grafians of course do not allow that the real motive of pleading for a late date is to save their arbitrary schematism that $J+\overset{1}{J}+\overset{x}{J}+E+\overset{1}{E}+\overset{x}{E}+D+\overset{1}{D}+\overset{x}{D}+P+\overset{1}{P}+\overset{x}{P}+$ a score of redactors, equal the Pentateuch, but their line of argument invariably starts from, and ends with, this assumption.

Prof. E. Naville, the Egyptologist, has suggested that just as it was an established custom of the Egyptians to deposit copies of their sacred books in the foundation-walls of temples, so Solomon deposited the book of Deuteronomy in the Temple.[65] His point of departure is the discovery of Egyptian texts of parts of the "Book of the Dead" in the temple at Hermopolis. In a papyrus we read: "This chapter was found in the foundations of (the god) Amihunnu by the overseer of the men who built a wall, in the time of king Usaphais". Naville shows that it was the custom not only in Egypt but in Asia Minor, in the temple of Ephesus and at other places, to deposit writings at the foot of statues of gods and within the foundation walls.[66] Other writers have referred to the same fact. Naville concludes that the "book of the Law", found in the Temple in the time of Josiah, was Deuteronomy, a copy of which had been deposited in the walls during the reign of Solomon.[67]

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[64] The account of the bringing up of the ark from Zion to the Temple refers specifically only to the "two tables of stone which Moses put there at Horeb" (1 K. 8: 9), because the law as the testimony of Jehovah was of prime importance. That other writings were subsequently deposited there is probable.

[65] *Proceedings of the Soc. of Bib. Archae.*, 1907, and *Comptes-rendus de l'Academie*, 1909.

[66] "It is not under the statues only that books were deposited. Another rubric teaches us that such writings were put in the foundation walls . . ., books, which, in their hiding-place could be preserved for centuries and discovered only long after they had been deposited in the masonry" *(Proceedings, 239)*. Amelia B. Edwards writes: "At Denderah there is a chamber especially set apart for the sacred writings, and its walls are sculptured all over with a catalogue *raisonnée* of the manuscript treasure of the Temple. . . . Every temple had its library, and as the Egyptian books, being written on papyrus or leather, occupied but little space, the rooms appointed to this purpose were generally small" *(A Thousand Miles Up the Nile)*.

[67] "Now, I ask: is there not the greatest analogy between this text (2 K. 22) and that which was found at Denderah? Josiah makes considerable repairs in the temple, or as an Egyptian would say, he renews the building to the Lord. For that work he gathers carpenters, builders and masons. The first thing they have to do is to use hewn stones for building walls which were in a very shaky state, or, as the text says, they were to repair the breaches of the house (2 K. 22: 5). . . . Evidently the book came out of one of these old and falling walls which must have belonged to the foundations of the construction. There is no reason why the Hebrews should not have put a book which they particularly valued in the foundation wall of the temple. The foundation of the temple means the work of Solomon. So that I have no hesitation in giving to the passage this interpretation" *(Proceed.*, p., 241).

Something can be said in favor of this hypothesis, especially if extended to include other writings. Solomon as a patron of letters would take steps to preserve the old records and Scriptures. He may even have been the first to gather the sacred books into a kind of canon. In any event, having imitated the custom of foreign courts in other respects, he must be supposed to have desired even to surpass them in the conservation of the national literature.[68] If, according to Naville, Solomon deposited Deuteronomy, it may be inferred that he took measures to preserve other books, as the Covenant Code, the Song of Deborah and others, in short the Pentateuch, Joshua and Judges, as they then stood. Nor is it necessary to limit the deposit of books to the foundation walls. The greater number were doubtless placed in the chambers and archives surrounding the temple.[69]

D. THE PROBLEM OF THE PRIEST CODE.

Having reviewed the J, E, and D codes, we proceed to a still more difficult undertaking, namely the determination of the character and age of the Priest Code, P. (See general description chap. I). It will be recalled that the Graf-Wellhausen school regard this document as post-Exilic (445), the Dillmann-Kittel school as pre-Exilic *(circa* 800 B. C.). We limit ourselves to the points bearing on its age and relation to other codes, with the view of ascertaining whether the underlying strata of the Pentateuch may not after all have originated in the Moses-Joshua period.[70]

1. *Graf-Wellhausen Philosophy of History.*

It is necessary here to state the philosophy of history underlying the Grafian criticism. On the one hand we have the

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[68] Commenting on Naville's argument, Kittel remarks that the question of Josiah's law-book "ist natuerlich damit nicht ohne weiteres erledigt. Aber es ist uns eine ueberaus wichtige neue Hilfe fuer ihre Loesung in die Hand gegeben" *(Ori. Auzgrab.,* etc., p., 43).

[69] Naville claims, further, that the law-book of Josiah was written in the Ass. language and the cuneiform characters. We are unable to follow him in this regard, our reasons being given above (chap. XI). "According to the tenor of the texts themselves the *Book of the law* does not appear to have been incomprehensible to any one. Consequently, there is no necessity for supposing it to have been written in an unknown language or in unknown characters" (E. Montet, *Bib. World,* Nov., 1910).

[70] Since the Grafian critics with few exceptions constantly ignore the Dillmann arguments for the early date of P, we consider it opportune to present his views. One might suppose from their silence, that Cheyne, Carpenter, Kent, the Smiths (W. R., G. A, and H. P.) and the Grafians generally (except Holzinger) had never heard of Dillmann. The art. "Hexateuch" (Wellh.-Cheyne) in *Ency. Bib.* never once refers to Dillmann, not even in the literature. The majority of American books on O. T. criticism are equally narrow. And yet Dillmann, according to Halèvy, was *"sans contredit le prêmier exegete de notre siecle" (Revue Sem.,* V, p., 313).

Hegelian panlogism, according to which all religion (that of the O. T. included) is of human origin, "a devolopment of the human spirit" (Vatke). On the other we have the monistic, evolutionistic hypothesis of the events of history. "When the natural sciences attained all manner of brilliant results through the application of the inductive method, the wish arose in many breasts that history might be studies after the same method, and thus reach equally certain results. There was ultimately only one science, that of nature. . . It is silently presupposed that, in the last analysis, one and the same causality originates all events and causes them to succeed each other according to the law of progressive development in a straight, upward line. Monism and evolution are the principles of the modern view of history" (Bavinck, *Phil. of Revelation,* pp., 113, 117).

There are two fatal defects in this hypothesis: 1, its advocates are unable to explain how free human agency and personality are controlled by laws of nature; 2, it is not sustained by the facts of history. The hypothesis overlooks the fact that in history we must take account of the will and motives of men (to say nothing of the Supreme Personality, God).[71] Society is not a biological organism, but an organization in which the personal element is ever active. The hypothesis of a uniform advance in civilization and religion is not verified by the history of any ancient people. Otto Weber writes: "The dogma of a gradual development from a lower to a higher level is not sustained by the history of the Oriental peoples. History leaves upon us, on the contrary, the impression of decadence rather than of advancing civilization, which tries to find fixed forms; everywhere in art, science and religion, this is confirmed" *(Theol. u. Assyriologie,).*

This monistic (*i. e.* anti-theistic), evolutionistic, biological conception of history underlies much of the current Old Testament criticism and crops out everywhere, but especially in the Grafian view of the Prist Code.[72]

2. *Graf-Wellhausen Hypothesis of the Priest Code.*

Wellhausen is sponser for the statement that Vatke and George "have the honor of being the first by whom the question of the historical sequence of the several stages of the laws was attacked on a sound method" *(Ency. Bib.,* col. 2049), *i. e.* the Hegelian dialectics. He adds: "The characteristic feature of the hypotheses of Graf is that the Priestly Code is placed later than Deuteronomy, so that the order is JE, D, P." There can be no doubt that the controlling principle of the Grafian criticism is a naturalistic, evolutionistic philosophy of history. By placing P at the end of the series, a seemingly consistent and progressive development of Israel's history is obtained and all is made to fall in with the pre-arranged schematism. The Grafians delete, or post-date all troublesome passages.

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[71] "We might speak of evolution in families, nations or humanity if men successively increased in height, in size and weight, in strength or length of life, or even in intellectual, moral, or religious capacity, in capability of culture. But this is not the case" (Bavinck, p., 118).

[72] Judging from the public prints, one would infer that many clergymen (mostly half-baked youth, or others with a smattering of philosophy), adopt the above false view of the O. T. Such men never get beyond what they call "evolution", — a term meaning anything, or nothing.

The question accordingly is, can the Grafians prove that P is the latest of the codes and so establish a basis for eliminating revelation, inspiration and the supernatural from the Old Testament? If everything in the Old Testament takes place according to natural law and evolutionistic forces in man, and if in short, "God has been politely escorted to the frontiers of the universe", we are committed to the baldest naturalism and pantheism. In view of the gravity of the issues, we discuss briefly the real nature of the Grafian tenets.[73]

3. *The Central Place of Worship.*

The Grafians hold that the codes imply progress from the simple to the complex in regard to the place of worship. JE, it is said, permits sacrifices everywhere; D prescribes one central sanctuary (Jerusalem); P takes the latter for granted. Therefore the law of evolution necessitates a post-Exilic date for P. But Korah's rebellion, Num. 16: 8 f, implies a conflict between priests and Levites. While the centralization of worship is not directly involved, the exclusion of the Levites from sacrificial service implies a period when their standing was a subject of dispute. Everything here points to a comparatively early date.

It is a mistake to maintain (Wellh.) that the demand for centralization did not arise before Josiah. Such an attempt was made by Hezekiah 90 years earlier; in fact from the time of Solomon, Jerusalem and its Temple were regarded as the central place of worship.[74]

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[73] Of course the Grafians in general do not allow that their critical views are in any way the outgrowth of a preconceived philosophy of history; but it is a remarkable fact that few of them are avowed and consistent theists, or accept the doctrine of revelation and inspiration in the special sense. Monism (as usually held) and theism are incompatible.

The classical passage in this connection, Ex. 20: 24-6, especially the clause, "in every place where I record my name I will come unto thee and bless thee", is cited as proof that originally an altar might be erected anywhere. Wellhausen argues that not one central sanctuary, but many are here legalized. This is partly correct; but the view must be qualified by the clause, "Where I record my name", which means that a place becomes sacred through a revelation of Jehovah. When circumstances rendered centralization impossible, the place chosen by Jehovah was legitimated. Ex. 23: 17, 19, (J), requiring every male to appear three times in the year before Jehovah, implies unity of worship. Without question the central sanctuary is meant. See also 34: 23. If the sanctuaries had been numerous, such a command would appear superfluous.

It is alleged, further, that, since J makes no provision for the maintenance of the priests, therefore all Israelites could offer sacrifice. But it is silent also as to leprosy and circumcision. Must we therefore conclude that these were unknown ln the 10—9th century? In fact, however, the selection of Aaron, Nadab and Abihu (Ex. 24) looks forward to a priestly order. (See Vos, *Mosaic Origin*, etc., pp., 89-92).

Again, it is a cardinal tenet of the Graf-Wellh. school that the tabernacle of P (Ex. 25-31, 35-40) is an ideal structure suggested by the Temple and transferred to Mosaic times.[75] It is admitted that there was an ark of the covenant and perhaps a simple tent covering it, but it is denied that "a band of roving shepherds, even though laden with the spoils of Egypt, could have erected the magnificent structure of Ex. 25-31" (Schultz). But since Schultz's time it has been shown conclusively that the Israelites were not wild Beduin, but semi-nomads with advanced views. Schultz allows that the tabernacle was a strongly constructed sanctuary at Shiloh in the time of the Judges. "This sanctuary was the place of the national worship and of the national priesthood" *(O. T. Theol.* I, 212). Delitzsch, Dillmann, Bredenkamp, Kittel, Riehm, Baudissin, and Wiener hold that there arose in the time of Moses the idea of a central sanctuary, to which the description of the tent of meeting in P corresponds, even if all the details cannot now be established.[76]

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[74] "When Amos and Hosea speak of the worship performed at such places as Bethel, and Gilgal, there is nothing in their words to lead us to suppose that these places were regarded by them as set apart by any divine authority as places of worship" (Roberston, *Early Relig. Is.*, 405).

[75] Reuss: "Die Stiftshuette des Priesterkodex ist eine bare Fiktion".

4. *Sanctuaries in the Time of the Judges.*

As seen above, the period of the Judges was one of religious syncretism, good and bad, normal and abnormal, preponderating alternately. The cultus of these centuries is but an expression of the life of the community. That the people here and there fell into a false worship is no proof that the Mosaic institutions were unknown or that there was no central sanctuary. The idolatrous sanctuary of Micah (Jud. 17) is explained by the fact that every man did that "which was right in his own eyes"; and the condemnation of Gideon's false worship (8: 27) has meaning only on the assumption of a legal central sanctuary. That this sanctuary was at Shiloh is to be inferred from Jer. 7: 12. Shiloh, centrally located, was a town of considerable size in the time of the Judges (Jud. 20: 49); hence its selection by Joshua as a resting-place for the ark and tabernacle. Having fallen into idolatry, it was discredited in the last days of Eli (1 S. 4).[77]

5. *Theory of Sacrifice.*

According to Wellhausen, P's theory of sacrifice fits in only with a post-Exilic date. It is probable that the ritual was not always carried out. But the ground-work of the Pentateuchal laws of sacrifice existed in oral, if not in written form, from the earliest times. "Occasional sacrifices brought by individuals, which the historical books are specially fond of relating, may have been offered loosely and according to peculiar ancient traditions, especially in the remoter periods." (Kittel, *Hist.*, I, 112). When Isaiah (ch. 1) and the early prophets demand a true, heart-sacrifice, it must be inferred that men were prone to rest content with an elaborate ritual.[78]

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[76] "The laws of JE recognize a plurality of altars, and, as these are for purposes of lay sacrifice, we may properly term them *lay altars;* but this does not justify us in saying that a plurality of sanctuaries is here permitted. . . If we find many lay altars, we also know of a house of the Lord at Shiloh at which sacrifices were performed with the assistance of a priesthood." (H. M. Wiener, "*Origin of the Pentateuch,* p., 64). See, also, same author in "*Essays in Pentateuchal Criticism.*"

[77] Wellhausen gets rid of the troublesome passages (Josh. 18: 1; 19: 51; 22; Jud. 19, etc.,) by simply deleting them; 1 S. he pronounces a late *vaticinium post eventum.* He, however, admits that Jer. 7: 12 implies that the sanctuary at Shiloh was regarded as the forerunner of the Solomonic Temple.

[78] Israel came out of a country which in the time of Moses had prescribed forms of worship and sacrifice. In Babylonia, rules for sacrifice were known from the earliest times. Can we believe that with the natural desire for decorum,

6. *Special Features of the Priest Code.*

We notice some peculiarities of the Priest Code which tend to show that it is early, or at least has early strata.

(1). *The Language and Style of P.* The language of P is classis in the best sense, and so may be early rather than late.[79] The question cannot be settled absolutely, for we have no absolute criterion. Dillmann writes: "Why such expressions (cited by Wellh.) should be late is not evident. We have no right to assume that in the early regal period men lacked the culture to make such distinctions in words and thought. From the fact that many of these expressions occur only in late literature, their lateness is not yet established. How many priestly writings have we from the period of the kings that men can decide so confidently? Only some H fragments and laws, and these exhibit the same phenomena. The later writers who recognize P as authoritative were naturally influenced by its language". Dillmann denies that Aramaisms and late expressions occur in P. Other marks of decaying Hebrew, such as found, *e. g.* in Jeremiah, cannot be established.[80]

(2). *The Material of P.* It is incredible that chapter after chapter in P, describing the sacred vessels, their use and removal from place to place during the life in the wilderness, could have originated in a period which had not the slightest interest in such things. But in early times, when the ark of the covenant still stood in the tabernacle and the accounts of the worship of a former age were preserved, it is natural that the priestly and Levitical families, whose ancestors had ministered at the sacred places, would seek to transmit the old customs. The matter of P does not indicate an Exilic or post-Exilic date. The table of nations in Gen. 10 and 36 fits in only with an early

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the Israelitish priests were the only ones in all the world without a regular ritual until the Exile (when in fact there was no place for such a ritual)? The language of the prophetical and historical books lends no support to such a view.

[79] Prof. A. T. Clay, *Amurru*, p., 32, note, says: "The writer is one of the small minority who believes that Hebraic (or Amoraic) literature, as well as Aramaic, has a great antiquity prior to the first millennium B. C."

[80] "The language of P has few marks of a post-Exilic date, especially of expressions which can positively be affirmed as Aramaisms. To be sure, books were written in pure Hebrew even after the Return; but they are Psalms and prophetical works, which follow the old models. That after the Exile, historical and legal works of the type of P would be written without Aramaisms and other evidences of a dying language is rendered improbable by Ezra and Nehemiah, in which the Hebrew is no longer pure. P, far from containing many late words, is characterized by a vocabulary and diction of the early period. The body of the code is unquestionably archaic. In the ritual parts of P, certain expressions, which are doubtless late, were added by the reviser; but these exceptions simply prove the rule" (Lotz, *A. T. u. die Wissensch.).*

pre-Exilic date; and it is noteworthy that the Edomite history (Gen. 36) extends only to the time of David. The description of the extent of Canaan (Num. 34) suits the very early period. Another inexplicable fact (on the Grafian hypothesis) is the implied autonomy of the twelve tribes after their absorption in the kingdom. Nowhere in P do we find the bitter tone against foreign nations so prominent in the post-Exilic books.

The Grafians regard the registers of names in Num. 1-3, 7, 13, 33, 34 and elsewhere as pure fabrications. But now that the South Arabian monuments and the numerous inscriptions from the Hammurabi period have shed fresh light on the old Semitic proper names, it has been shown that the names in these chapters have forms corresponding to those extant in the Mosaic period. The historical character of such names is an overwhelming proof that this code has elements reaching to the Mosaic and pre-Mosaic ages. It has also been found that many of the technical expressions and sacrificial usages of P are analogous to those of ancient Arabian and Babylonian periods, so that here again, this code goes back to a hoary antiquity. All the more difficult, therefore, is the attempt to bring the main stratum of P down to late date. If, however, the chief parts of P, as of J, E, and D, are early, the critical difficulties are largely surmounted, for the different codes (socalled), even though partly contemporaneous, would supplement each other.

(3). *The Literary Sources of P.* For the historical sections, P clearly depends largely on written sources. Oral tradition is too vague and aimless to suit the historian's purpose. The reduction of the old material to narratives containing a religious purpose was the work of the early collaborators. They must have sprung up at least in the Joshua, and probably already in the Mosaic period; and so it was possible to extract from the old records (of the Mosaic and pre-Mosaic periods) the essentials of history and furnish a systematic account of revelation in the priestly style and interest. It may be assumed that P had access to E, or to his sources. As to J, Dillmann allows considerable matter common to J and P, but finds that in some sections, as Gen. 1-11, P is earlier.[81] That P had access to very ancient sources is evident from the genealogies of Shem, Ishmael, Edom and the lists in Gen. 46; also Num. 1, 3, 13, 26, 34, etc., and especially from the narrative concerning Enoch, the landing on Ararat, the rainbow, cave of Machpelah, the plagues of flies, etc. (Dillmann).[82]

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[81] "Since the narratives of the creation and of the deluge, and the lists of the Noachic races (Gen. 10) are decidedly more archaic in P than in J, the dependence of P on J for the primeval history cannot be conceded; on the contrary, we must infer that in its first part the present J code contains elements which are incorporated on the basis of P. The perceptible P coloring in Gen. 6: 7 and 8: 21 would in this event be explained" (Dillm., *op. cit.*, p., 656).

7. *Arguments Unfavorable to a Post-Exilic Date.*

(1). *P Unsuitable to a Late Date.* According to Dillmann, "it is inconceivable that a post-Exilic priest, or priests would have dared contrary to contemporaneous prophecy (Zech. 1: 2-6) and to the dominant D code (as claimed by our opponents), to introduce sharply antagonistic laws, and contrary to Ezekiel 44 (Zadokites) to install the Aaronites as priests, or to favor laws of tithing and feasts antagonistic to those of J, D and Ezekiel. Even allowing such a possibility, is it likely that the interested classes would have favored such innovations (partly to their disadvantage), unless justification had been found in earlier writings" (p., 270)? Though the post-Exilic period was one of some literary activity (Haggai and Zech., 520; Ezra and Nehemiah, 456-32), we have no evidence that any writer was interested in the archaic matter of P. It is inconceivable that after D had been united with JE (Graf-Wellh.) and had received official sanction, the scheme of antagonizing and supplanting the earlier codes could have been carried through without opposition. The Grafian Hypothesis implies an unparalleled degree of credulity on the part of the post-Exilic Jews.[83]

It is difficult to understand why an author of the fifth pre-Christian century in writing a law-book for an obscure people in a Persian province should incorporate minute ordinances on the Ten Tribes, the Levitical cities, war and booty, the ark of the covenant, Urim and Thummim, and other matters not suitable to his age. The claim of Kuenen that such material was incorporated merely to authenticate the work, implies (apart from deception) the use of older written sources. Again, if this code was prepared in the Ezraic period, why is it silent on matters of vital concern for the new community, such as prohibition of mixed marriages, the service of the Levitical singers, musicians, door-keepers, etc.? Why finally is the law of the Passover different from the practice of Ezra's time?[84]

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[82] "Some of P's matter must have been based on special written sources: as, the names of Esau's wives (Gen. 26: 34; 28: 9), the name Padden Aram; the contest of Moses and Aaron with the Egyptian magicians, the place of Aaron's death (Num. 20: 23); the murmuring of Moses and Aaron at Meribah (Num. 18: 10), the peculiar Balaam narrative (Num. 31: 8, 16), and the controversy with the East-Jordanic tribes. P's sources here are unknown" (Dillmann).

[83] Can we suppose that the learned Jews of Ezra's time would have accepted without question the creation-account of Gen. 1: 1—2: 3 as over against 2: 4-25, or the increase of the feasts from 4 to 7; or would have allowed the whole scheme of elaborate P sacrifices to go into effect without a solitary protest? Such a silent acquiescence in a revolutionary program is utterly foreign to ancient Hebrew proclivities.

(2). *The Account in Nehemiah 8—10.* Contrary to the Grafian view, the account in Neh. 8—10 of Ezra's public reading of the book of the law in 444 B. C., does not convey the impression that it was a recently composed book. Still less probable does this view become, if we hold that the book was the completed Pentateuch. In that event, time would be required for the composition of the different parts of P, and their union with each other and with the other documents entering into the Pentateuch. Ezra is said to be a ready scribe in the law of Jehovah", and the implication is that "the law" is our Pentateuch and that it dates from a distant past. The people know of the existence of the law, for they "gathered together . . . and spake unto Ezra to bring the book of the law of Moses" (Neh. 8: 1). They appear simply to have neglected to observe its contents. Furthermore, Ezra 2: 36 f; Neh. 6: 10; 12: 35, 41 and Haggai 2: 11 imply acquaintance with the Priest Code.

8. *Ezekiel and the Priest Code.*

The pre-Exilic date of P is reached by another line of proof. The prophet Ezekiel employs language which implies a knowledge of Levit. 17-26 (H) and the Priest Code in general.[85] Since Ezekiel prophesied in 597-71 we have a fixed datum. If the priority of H and P to Ezekiel is established, it follows that P is pre-Exilic. "There are a number of points in which it is generally conceded that the legislation of Ez. is an advance upon H. In the distribution of priestly functions, in the classification of holy things, in the enumeration of sacrifices, and in the treatment of feasts Ez. is certainly more developed than H. This fact need not be exhibited in detail, inasmuch as it is conceded by Kuenen, Baentsch and other advocates of the priority of Ez." (Paton).

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[84] "The hypothesis that in P we have a projection of later conditions into the desert period breaks down under the weight of P's data. The writer conceives the Levites primarily as a body of sacred porters. Now nobody living in any subsequent age could suppose that there was either occasion or possibility to carry about the Temple. If we are really to adopt the projection theory (according to which the duties of the Levites in P mirror their duties in the second Temple), we must imagine a priestly gentleman picturing to himself sections of the Temple walls and bits of the roof as being carried about at odd times by Levites on their shoulders. The absurdity of the proposition must surely be obvious to everybody" (Wiener, *op. cit.*, p., 75).

[85] The Wellhausen sequence is: D, Ezek., H, P; the Dillmann, H, P, D, Ezek. In addition to the older literature of Del., Dill., Klos., Baud., Kittel, see L. B. Paton on "The Holiness Code and Ezekiel", in *Pres. and Ref. Rev.*, VII, 98—115, and J. O. Boyd on "Ezek. and the Modern Dating of the Pent.," in "*Princ. Theolog. Rev.*, VI, 29—51).

Other strata in P are earlier than Ez., as shown by P passages compared with Ez., as: Gen. 9: 14 and Ez. 1 : 28; Gen. 7: 14 and Ez. 17: 23; 39: 4, 17. Ezekiel's "every bird of every wing", thrice repeated, seems to be a reflection of Gen. 7: 14. Ezekiel in 4: 4-6 doubtless had Num. 14: 34 (P) in mind. If we were to accept the view "that Ezekiel here was prior to P, it would involve us in the absurdity of attributing to P not merely invention of historical facts — this is an essential part of the Wellhausen conception of P — and not merely a dependence on Ezekiel wholly uncalled-for under the circumstances of this case, but this invention and this slavish dependence without any assignable motive" (Boyd).

According to the critical canon that an elaborate ritual is later than a simple one, Baudissin urges the priority of P over Ezekiel. "In P, the killing, flaying, and cutting up of the sacrificial animal has to be done by the layman presenting the offering (Lev. 1 : 5, 11, etc.); in Ez. the Levites have to perform the killing. There can be no doubt that in this instance the Priests' Code represents the earlier custom" (Hast., *Dic. Bib.*, IV, 87).

Grafians ask, 'If P's distinction between Levites and Aaronites was known to Ez., why does he present his own distinction between priests and Levites?' It suffices to observe that Ezekiel's Zadokites are not the same as P's Aaronites. The former, as but one branch of the family of Aaron, are less extensive than the Aaronites.[86] The sons of Zadok according to 1 K. 2: 35 and Ezekiel were the priests officiating in Jerusalem from the time of Solomon. When, therefore, Ezekiel (44: 15) speaks of the sons of Zadok as priests, he employs a narrower term than P's "sons of Aaron", that is Ezekiel is later than P, even according to the Wellhausen logic.

9. *The Date of the Priest Code.*

We are now prepared to summarize the evidence for the date of the Priest Code.

(1). *Dilemma of the Graf-Wellhausen School.* The Wellhausen hypothesis proceeds on the assumption that the religious institutions of Israel were developed uninterruptedly. But this assumption has never been verified. The data show that there was advance and retrogression alternately. The postulate of this school is that according to Deuteronomy, the civil and ceremonial ordinances of P were not enforced (and therefore not in existence) in the monarchical period, but only in the small community established by Ezra and Nehemiah. This position is valid as over against those (1) who hold that P in all its details is the work of Moses, and those (2) who believe that the laws of P were actually enforced from the first. But the Wellhausen contention is invalid over against the view, that the Priest Code, based on Mosaic data and principles, but drawn up with an eye on both present and future needs, contains an early well-articulated system of the Israelitish theocracy. On the critical view (shared by the Grafians) that P is a priest code, it would not possess supreme interest for the prophets. Either the Grafians must allow that P might be extant without necessarily being quoted by the prophets, or they must abandon their favorite dictum of a sharp antagonism between priests and prophets. In the former case our contention is established; in the latter, the possibility of priestly and prophetic writings existing side by side from the earliest times must be conceded.[87]

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[86] According to Ex. 28: 1; 40: 2-15, Aaron and his sons were appointed priests. Nadab and Abihu having perished, the priesthood was hereditary in the lines of Eleazar and Ithamar. Zadok, a descendant of Eleazar, and Abiathar, a descendant of Ithamar, were priests under David. Abiathar, having joined the Adonijah rebellion, was deposed; but Zadok, remaining loyal to David and Solomon, was confirmed in the priesthood, as were his descendants.

(2). *Traces of P in D and other Books.* The Grafians deny any traces of P in D. Here the honors between them and the Dillmannists are even. As seen above, we do not expect a direct influence of one on the other; but the question is whether D knowing of the existence of P would unquestionably quote from it. The contention of the Grafians is illicit, for it cannot be shown that D (on the Grafian assumption) was bound to refer to P. All the conditions would be met (even if both P and D arose in the Mosaic period) if it should appear that D was aware of the institutions of P and designed to supplement them.[88]

It is impossible to prove a development of the cultus between 621 and 445 — an age of decadence comprising the beginning of the Exile, the Exile itself and the time between Zerubbabel and Ezra — periods absolutely unsuitable for most of the institutions of P. It is inconceivable that any priest would in this interval draw up the laws of P. Any modification of the ritual would proceed on the basis of the old laws; the introduction of absolutely new laws is improbable. We are therefore led to conclude that the institutions of P are not only pre-Exilic, but in the main pre-monarchical, and even Mosaic.

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[87] "The question is not whether there was a time in the monarchical period when all the laws of P were enforced, but only whether it is conceivable that already about 800 B. C. the priests of the central sanctuary came forward with such an ideal; and we see no reason to answer this question in the negative" Dillm.).

[88] It was shown above that D exhibits an acquaintance with the legal and historical data of P and to some extent with the language and phraseology. Thus Deut. 1: 15; 2: 14-16; 3: 15; 4: 16, and chas. 17, 18, 25, etc. contain expressions characteristic of P. That these are glosses by a later editor is out of the question.

E. SUMMARY ON THE ORIGIN OF THE PENTATEUCH.

A theoretical and practical reconciliation of the uniform Old Testament teaching, according to the traditionalists, that Moses had a considerable share in the origin of the Pentateuch, and of the modern critical hypothesis, that the Hexateuch arose from six to eight centuries after Moses, may be sought along the following lines.

1. *Theory of Documents.*

Since the Old Testament abounds in references to books and sources, a theory of documents is not in itself objectionable, but becomes so only when the documents are affirmed to be late and of naturalistic origin.

2. *Codes Based on Ancient Sources.*

Starting for the purpose of argument, from the theory of the codes J, E, P and D (too widely accepted by Hebraists to be ignored), we have seen that each of these codes is based on a considerable number of early written sources, and so may in fact go back in substance to the Mosaic age. Thus, (1) the Decalog, the Book of the Covenant, the Little Book of the Covenant, and, with the exception of some editorial additions, the matter in J and E (so far as language and historical setting enable us to determine) originated in the Moses-Joshua period. (2). Without deciding the question of the final redaction of Deuteronomy, it is clear that the book reproduces old laws and monitions, and is based on ancient written sources which in some cases demonstrably go back to the Mosaic age. The theory which upon the whole seems best supported is that some editor in the age of Joshua or not much later, having access to the scattered records of the last words and acts of Moses, wrote out Deuteronomy in substantially its present form. (3). As to the Priest code, P, it is incredible that chapter after chapter relating to the ten tribes, Levitical cities, Urim and Thummim, the ark of the covenant, the sacred vessels, the cultus of the Mosaic age, ancient and extinct nations, and ancient laws and technical details, originated as late as 445 B. C., an age not interested in such matters; and on the other hand that post-Exilic priests would have dared to introduce laws sharply antagonistic to the (assumed) dominant D code, to install the Aaronites as priests (contrary to Ezekiel), to favor laws of tithing and feasts opposing those of J, D and Ezekiel, and in short to bring forward a code embodying much matter unsuitable to that age, and omitting things of vital concern for the new community. From the character of the matter, which has point and significance only for the Mosaic age and which from its circumstantiality of detail could not have been thought out (without anachronisms) by a post-Exilic Jew however learned, it is impossible to avoid the conclusion that the code in its essentials was drawn up at an early date on the basis of sources going back to the Mosaic age.

3. *Pentateuch Essentially Mosaic.*

Unless the uniform testimony of the Old Testament that Moses had a large share in the composition of the Pentateuch was a fiction of a later age (which is improbable) and unless, further, our Lord intended to accommodate himself to a false traditional view (which is unthinkable),[89] we cannot escape the conclusion that the Pentateuch in its underlying parts is to be ascribed to Moses.

4. *Employment of Scribes and Amanuenses.*

Moses undoubtedly was competent and had the required facilities to write such a work as the Pentateuch, had he been so disposed; and the evidence Biblical and critical is to the effect that he actually wrote the Ten Words, the Book of the Covenant and some other parts. But in view of the difference in style (indicating different writers) and in accord with the custom of that age, the conditions of the problem are met if we suppose that for the most part scribes and amanuenses drew up under his direction the early history of the world and of his people, as well as an account of the deliverance from Egyptian bondage and of his legislative activity. Hence the underlying strata of the Pentateuch may well have originated in the Mosaic age.[90]

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[89] Two alternatives we exclude: (1), that Jesus had so limited or emptied himself (Phil. 2: 5) that he did not know or care to know the facts regarding the *Torah;* and (2) that he wickedly intended to deceive. The former alternative implies a false *Kenosis;* the latter, a false *ethics.*

5. *A Fourfold Record.*

A fourfold record of the birth-time of Israel would in fact furnish cumulative proof of the historicity and correctness of the narrative, just as in the case of the four Gospels (really one Gospel) we have cumulative proof of the life and teaching of Jesus. Under this view the documents and codes underlying the Pentateuch virtually sustain the same relation to the Mosaic age in point of time, content and literary form as the four Gospels to that of Christ.[91]

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[90] "If we accept Moses as a historical character and if we believe the account of Exodus that he was brought up as a prince of the house of Pharaoh, it would be absurd to suppose that he was unfamiliar with such accomplishments [viz. writing, etc.,]. He would be trained in every accomplishment known at the court and certainly in those which the Pharaoh expected even his minor officials to possess. So far then as writing is concerned, there is not the slightest difficulty in accepting him as the author of at least the kernel of the Pentateuch" (J. G. Duncan, *Explor. Egypt and the O. T.*, p., 243).

[91] "The history of Israel and of its literature stands under another law than that of a constant development from below upward. The unique redemption era of Moses dominates as a creative beginning the whole of the subsequent development. No doubt there is a constant progress, but it is only such as gradually to develop that which had commenced in the time of Moses with all the primal force and fulness of a *divine creation*" (Delitzsch, *Psalms).*

I.

INDEX OF SUBJECTS.

Aaronites and Zadokites, difference between, p. 278.

Abraham, language of, 50, 51; had trustworthy cuneiform records, 8, 240, 244, 250; migration of, from Ur, 241; monotheism of, 241; influenced by culture of Ur, 240.

Abridged Egyptian Alphabet, 57; possible influence of, on Phœnician letters, 83, 173.

Abu Simbel, Phœnician inscription of, 97; Greek inscriptions of, 83, 173.

Acrology, 56, 140. *See* Acrophony.

Acrophony, defined and illustrated, 56; Egyptian principle of, adopted by inventors of Semitic, (Phœnician) alphabet, 137.

Aegean Writing, probably furnished material for Phœnician alphabet, 91, 129.

Agrarian laws of Book of the Covenant, possible in Mosaic age, 201.

Agriculture, in Genesis narratives, 197; not incompatible with cultivation of literature (W. R. Smith), 213.

Alphabet, no true, prior to Phœnician, 58; a certain kind of, in Egypt in early times, 58; problem of origin of Phœnician, 81; theories of origin of, 84-92; importance of determining date of origin, 83, 84; alleged Phœnician origin of, 84; Egyptian origin (de Rougé), 84; Standard Egyptian, 86, 173; the de Rougé theory of, 86; Hittite origin of, 87; theory of Babylonian origin of, 89; theory of Aramaic origin of, 90; Mesopotamian origin of, 90; theory of Cretan origin of, 91; Greek, 129; introduced into Greece by Phœnicians, 129, 130; provisional theory of origin of, 137; Delitzsch hypothesis of origin of, 137; Astro-Mythological hypothesis of origin of, 142; growth and development of, 148, 154; three types of North Semitic, 156; relation of N. and S. Semitic, 156, 157; Phœnician, known to Moses, 171; extant in third pre-Christian millennium, 151; Phœnician, long a *Scriptura privata,* 123, 182, 183.

Alphabetology, principles of, 154; law of correlative variation, 154; no absolute sameness of development in alphabets, 155; law of graphic development, 156.

Altars, question of unity or plurality, 273; bearing on date of Priest code, 273, 274.

Amanuenses, in service of Moses, 80, 169, 234, 264, 281.

Amarna Letters, when and where discovered, 67; character and value of, 68; language and script of, 68; scribes in Palestine, in time of, 234; afford proof of cuneiform in Palestine in early times, 178; mention Byblos, Gaza, Jerusalem, etc., 67; confirmatory of O. T., 68, and of antiquity of Hebrew language, 187, foot-note, 36.

American Grafians, mostly followers of Germans and captivated by the Wellhausen rhetoric and philosophy, 10, 11, 15, 19, 20, 269, 270.

Amorites, 47; civilization of, 50; played important rôle in West-Land, 69; used Babylonian language and script, 72.

Amraphel, 246. *See* Hammurabi.

Amurru, high civilization of, 49; home of Northern Semites (Clay), 48-49; influenced West-Land culture, 70, 74; carried civilization and religion to Babylonia, 73, 74; often referred to, in Babylonian and Egyptian inscriptions, 74, 75.

Anachronisms, character of, 34; value of argument from, in determining date of a book, 40; in Shakespeare, 40.

Anonymity of Babylonian-Assyrian literature, 66.

Anonymous Writings, authors of, frequently determined by the literary-historical criticism, 40, 259.

Antiquity, of proto-Phœnician alphabet, 150-153; of Phœnician alphabet, 158; of Babylonian writing, 53-55; of Babylonian literature, 62-66; of Egyptian writing, 55-57; of Egyptian literature, 59-61; of Greek alphabet, 135; of Hebrew language, 51, 187; of Hebrew literature, 193-280; of Genesis XIV, 245; of underlying strata in Pentateuch, 238-279.

Arabia, land of old civilization, 123, 151.

Arabia, North, supposed original home of Semites, 47.

Aramaic Language, in O. T., 50, 137; long a *lingua franca,* 90, 157; spoken in Jerusalem in Hezekiah's time, 184.

Aramaic script and inscriptions, 100, 107; Zakar, 101; Hadad, 104; Panammu, 104; Bar-Rekub, 105; Nerab, 105; Lion-Weight of Abydos, 106; Lamas, Teima, 106.

Aramaic hypothesis of origin of Phoenician alphabet, 90.

Archaic Hebrew script, character of, 108-116; used in David-Ezra age, 163-165; in Joshua-David age, 166-168; in Mosaic age, 168-172.

Archaeology and the Old Testament, 49, 93.

Argument, from anachronisms, in establishing date of a document or book, 40; from silence, 40; from subject-matter, 40; from vocabulary, 37; from direct reference, 39.

Assyrian language, similar to Babylonian, 46; in Israel, 184; at court of Jehu, 185; Conder's argument of use of, in original O. T. books, 188; Sayce's view of early O. T. books paraphrased from, 189.

Assyrian literature, many kinds of, 61; mostly imitation of Babylonian, 61.

Astro-Mythological hypothesis of origin of Phoenician alphabet, 142.

Authenticity, meaning and importance of, in criticism, 31; accepted, in case of documents, until disapproved, 44.

Baal-Lebanon inscription, 96; date of, 97.

Babylonians, character of, 46; employed cuneiform script, 53; had many scribes, 54.

Babylonian hypothesis of origin of Phoenician alphabet, 89, 137.

Babylonian language in Israel, 178, 182 ff.

Babylonian literature, antiquity of, 62 ff.; immense extent of, 62; poetical, prose, legal, historical, epistolary and religious, 63-66; anonymity of, 66.

Babylonian writing, character and antiquity of, 51.

Berytus, antiquity of, 145.

Blessing of Moses (Deut. XXXIII), date disputed, 265; ancient and probably Mosaic, 266.

Book, early use of term in O. T., 214; Hebrew word for, *sepher,* probably a Babylonian loan-word, 214; implies writing on papyrus, 214.

Book of the Covenant (Ex. XXI—XXIII), scope and character of, 252; Agrarian laws in, 201; Mosaic origin of, 252, 253; compared with Code Hammurabi, 65, 253; moral tone of, superior to Code Hammurabi, 65, 66, 253.

Book of Genesis, written records underlying it, 17, 238-25.

Book of Jashar, 79; poetical form of, 227; contains Song of Bow, 227; extent of, 228.

Book of Joel, illustration of Higher Criticism, from, 33; style and language of, 33; historical situation implied in, 34; inferences and deductions from, 34.

Book of Joshua, authorship and date of, 204; based on old records, 205.

Book of Judges, component parts of, 205; of early date, 206; negative criticism of, largely subjective, 207, 208.

Book of Wars of Jehovah, 79; date of, 226.

Book-Town, 171. *See* Kiriath-sepher.

Books, early Hebrew, in Davidic age, 218-221; in Mosaic age, 224-230, 240-280; sacred, deposited in sanctuaries, 268; in foundation walls of temples, 268; books and scribes in O. T., 214. *See* Hebrew literature.

Boustrophedon writing, in early Greek inscriptions, 133-134.

Byblos, mentioned in Amarna Letters, 67; antiquity of, 145; center of book-trade and papyrus industry, 145, 172; seat of culture in pre-Mosaic age, 145; word *book* derived therefrom, 145, 172.

Canaan, early Egyptian influence in, 68; early Babylonian civilization in, 67, 69; had an advanced indigenous civilization, 68, 70; influenced by Amorites, 69; Babylonian influence on, ceased after 1800 B. C., 70.

Canaanites, origin and character of, 70, 144; early employed cuneiform script, 70; stood high culturally in 2000-1500, B. C., 73; low morally and religiously in post-Mosaic age, 209; no models for Hebrews, 209; outclassed by Hebrews of Joshua period, 210, 211.

Canon of O. T., one of the fundamental problems of Old Testament science, 1, 2.

Cassites in Canaan in early times, 70.

Certainty, no absolute historical, 42; sufficient for practical purposes, 42.

Chartom, the, sacred scribe, magician, 217.

Chedorlaomer, identified with Kudurlagamar, 240.

Civilization, Hebrew, in Mosaic age, 5; high, according to traditionalists, 5; low, according to radicals, 6; in Canaan in pre-Mosaic period, 67, 73; early Cretan, 91; Hebrew, in pre-Davidic period, 193, 204; Hebrew, in pre-Mosaic age, 196; of Canaanites, 202; Hebrew and Canaanite, compared, 211.

Clay, not papyrus, generally used in Babylonian writing, 54.

Code Hammurabi, 65; proof of early Babylonian legal literature, 65, 66; compared with Book of the Covenant, 66.

Codes, theory of Pentateuchal, 12; sequence of, 16; Deuteronomic code, so-called, 12; Elohistic code, E, 12; Jehovistic code, J, 12; Holiness code, H, 13; Priest code, P, 13; manner of combining codes, 14; Grafian hypothesis of, 15; Pentateuchal, based on early sources, 280.

Conservative and Radical positions of O. T. criticism, 5-23; possibility of reconciliation, between, 24, 25; mediating view, 26, 280-282.

Creation Epic and Genesis I, 63.

Cretan script, conjectural prototype of Phœnician, 92, 125, 129; relation to Egyptian hieratic, or hieroglyphic, 92.

Crete, early civilization of, 91; origin of alphabet in (Evans, Praetorius), 91; script of, 92; center of a primitive system of writing, 150; syllabic script in, 130.

Criticism, in general, defined, 27; a characteristic of the present age, 28; kinds of, 28; Lower or Textual, 29, 30; Higher or Literary, 29, 31; need of, 30; Shakespearean, 30; province of Higher, 31, 32, 33; from local color of writing, 40; often pure subjectivism, 31; current O. T. criticism largely Grafian and negative, 12-14, 196-211, 218-222, 238-279.

Criticism, Higher, or Literary-Historical, illustrated from Book of Joel, 33-35.

Cuneiform or wedge-shape writing, nature of, 53; number of characters (Delitzsch), 53; ideograms and phonograms, 53; the Babylonian scribe, 54; syllabaries, 55.

Cypriote characters, possible proto-types of Phœnician, 92.

Cyprus, Baal-Lebanon inscription, in, 172; home of Cypriote script, 129.

Debir. See Kiriath-sepher.

Deborah, Ode of, 80, 230.

Decalog, Mosaic origin of, 251; not beyond comprehension of Hebrews of the Exodus, 251.

Decalog, second, a figment of the critical imagination, 254.

Delphi, and Phœnician alphabet, 131; priests of, and Greek alphabet, 131.

Deluge, Babylonian story of, and Biblical account, 63.

Deuteronomy, Book of, Mosaic origin denied, 11; character and age of, according to Grafian criticism, 12; dilemma of criticism, 256; originated in seventh century B. C., according to Grafians, 257; a pious fraud (Holzinger), 257; language and style, 258, 259; historical situation that of Mosaic age, 259; Egypticity of, 259; Moses represented as author of, 260, 261; references to, in prophets, 262; alleged contradictions in, 262; ancient strata in, 266; Mosaicity of, 267; transmission of, 267; Mosaic in underlying strata, 280.

Documents, combined to form Pentateuch, 14; Dillmann hypothesis of, 15; theory of, not necessarily objectionable, 280.

Eclecticism, in formation of alphabets, 148.

Egypt, civilization of, 5; script and literature of, 57, 59-61; influence of on Hebrews, 202; Semites, in, 143; Hyksos in, 143; Egyptian language Semitized, 144.

Egyptian Standard, Alphabet, so-called, 85, 86.

Egyptian writing and literature, extent and antiquity of, 59-61.

Elohistic code, characteristics and age of, 12; ancient, and based on ancient sources, 256.

Engraving, in early times, 62; early use of, among Hebrews, 232.

Epic, the Creation, 63; the Gilgamesch, 63.

Epigraphy, Semitic, science and importance of, 93, 132; Greek, 132.

Epistolary literature, Babylonian, 66.

Evolution, of Pentateuch, according to Graf-Wellhausen school, 11; of O. T. religion and literature in Grafian system, 269, 270; and revelation, 1, 269, 270.

Exile, Babylonian, 180; Babylonian and Hebrew language in, 181; Hebrew literary activity in, 181; Aramaic language and script in, 181.

Ezekiel, relation to Priest code, 277; later than P code, 277, 278; sacrificial system more elaborate than P code, 278.

Foot-Notes, none in ancient books, 262.

Forgeries, literary, usually exposed, 259.

Fraud, book of Deuteronomy, a "Pious", according to Grafians, 257.

Gebal. See Byblos.

Genesis, book of, contains history, not legends, 194-196; matter of, transmitted from patriarchal period, 242, 243; first eleven chapters on half dozen cuneiform tablets, 244; chapters V, X, XIV, based on old records, 245; antiquity of chap. XIV, 245-249; book of, not traceable to late Babylonian sources, 243.

Genesis XIV, storm center of criticism, 245, 246; persons and places of, identified, 246; historical background of, 247; based on early sources, 248.

Genuineness, of ancient documents accepted until disproved, 43.

Gezer, cuneiform tablets of, 161, 179.

Gezer, Hebrew Calendar Tablet of, 109; archaic character of, 110; date and epigraphic value of, 111, 112.

Gideon, writing in age of, by youth of Succoth, in Phœnician alphabet, 129, 130.

Goddess, no word for, in Hebrew language, 209.

Gilgamesch Epic, 63.

Grafianism, hypothesis of, 271; assumes late date of Hebrew alphabet, writing and literature, 148; monistic evolutionistic philosophy of, 270; regards Priest code as evolutionistic, 271; natural law the dominating principle of, 271; holds that codes developed from simple to complex, 271; regards its position as established absolutely, 24; destroys the old order from the ground up, 25.

Greeks, early civilization of, 128; adopted Phœnician alphabet, 130; experimented with alphabet, 128; gradually developed their alphabet, 131; extant inscriptions of, 132-134.

Hammurabi, character of, 64; code of, compared with Mosaic Book of the Covenant, 65-66; letters of, 66; the lord of Canaan, 69; the Amraphel of Genesis XIV, 246-247.

Harran, religious and literary center, 242.

Hebrews, highly civilized in Mosaic age, 5; of Semitic stock, 45; antiquity of their language, 51; had examples of writing and literature in Egypt, 61; early adopted Phœnician alphabet, 168, 171; learned Egyptian language and script, 173; a bilingual people, 192; not nomads, but semi-nomads, 197, 198; had elements of settled government in Egypt, 200; prepared for Mosaic legislation at Exodus, 202; morally superior to Canaanites, 210; early adopted Jehovah religion, 211; cultivated true historical literature, 205.

Hebrew Inscriptions, archaic, 108; their number, 108; fewness of, due to nature of writing-material, 108; Siloam, 108; Gezer Calendar, 109; Jeroboam, 112; Samaria ostraca, 114; inscribed jar-handles, 116; probability of many yet to be discovered, 115. *See* Inscriptions.

Hexateuch, composition of, 12-15; formula of, 15.

Hieratic script, described, 55, 59; influence of, on Phœnician, 145; was Mosaic law written in hieratic, 175-7.

Hieroglyphics, character of, 55-58; largely phonetic, 56; copies of the Book of the Dead in, 59; many writings (monumental) in, 60.

Higher, or Literary, Criticism, 31, 33; name of science, 35; broad scope of, 37; methods of, 37, 39, 41; literary and historical method in, 39; theological method, 41; compared with Lower, 28.

Historical method or argument, value of, 39, 42.

Historical situation in Palestine in 2500-1400 B. C., 68-71.

History vs. Legend, 18, 20; genuine history in Genesis, 194; philosophy of, in O. T., 208.

Hittites, their writing, boustrophedon, 88; inscriptions of, undeciphered, 88; script of, related to Egyptian hieroglyphics, 88; their alleged influence in origin of Phœnician alphabet, 87.

Holiness code, H, characteristics and age of, 13, 14.

Hyksos, subdued Palestine, 71; not averse to literature, 71; their reign in Egypt and expulsion, 71; as Semites in Egypt, 143; duration of supremacy of, in Egypt, 143; probable share of, in origin of Phœnician alphabet, 143-145.

Inscriptions, many Egyptian, 60; historical, mythological, poetical, in Egypt, 61; Assyrian, consisting of poetical and prose works on many subjects, 62; chief Assyrian historical, 62; many Babylonian, 62; Babylonian historical, 63; Hittite, 88; Semitic and O. T., 93; number of Semitic, 93, 94; kinds of, 94; Phœnician, 95; Baal-Lebanon, 96; early Greek, 128, 131; Thera, 133; Assyrian not always accurate, 250; Minæan and O. T., 275; Egyptian Coffin, 145-7; hieratic, 146; longer archaic Hebrew, 171.

Integrity, of scripture, 32; of Pentateuch, 10, 238, 267.

Israelites. See Hebrews.

Jehovistic code, character and age of, 12; ancient and based on early records, 256.

Jeroboam seal, in archaic Hebrew script, 112; discovery of, 112; antiquity of, 113, 165; epigraphic value of, 113.

Jerusalem, no reference to, in Deuteronomy, a proof of early date, 260.

Joel. See Book of Joel.

Jesus and the Pentateuch, 281.

Jotham's Parable, early date of, 228, 229.

Joshua, writing and literature, in time of, 234; copying of law, by, 234; description of territory, in age of, 235.

Kingdom, law of, 263.

Kiriath-sepher, Book-Town, 233; city of letters, 233; documents preserved in, 245.

Kiriath-sannah, seat of culture, 171.

Language, Aramaic. *See* Aramaic Language.

Language, Assyrian. *See* Assyrian Language.

Language, Hebrew, 50; early, 51; origin and development of, 50; similar to Canaanite and Phœnician, 50; antiquity of, 51, 75; three stages of, 51, 52.

Languages, Semitic, 49; classification of, 49.

Law, the Mosaic, foundation of Hebrew theocracy, 250; implied in prophets, 250; copied in time of Joshua, 234.

Law and prophecy. relation of, 21; law first, then prophecy, 22; Pentateuchal codes, prior to prophetical books, 238-279.

Legends and myths, Gunkel's view of 184 f.; said to characterize Genesis narratives, 193; untenability of hypothesis of, 194-6; no historical facts in Genesis according to Gunkel, 194.

Letter-Names, Phœnician-Hebrew, 138-140; unknown meaning of some, in Hebrew alphabet, 139; names and forms of Phœnician letters, 138; problem of, 138; theories of origin, 140; Semitized Sumerian, 141.

Libraries, Canaanite, at Gilgal, Shechem, Shiloh, 244, 248, 249; at Kiriath-sepher, 245; at Jerusalem, 245.

Literature, Egyptian, very ancient, 59, 61; Assyrian, 61; Babylonian, 63; Babylonian in Hammurabi period, 64; legal Babylonian, 65, 66; Babylonian Epistolary, 66; anonymity of Babylonian-Assyrian, 66; a native Palestinian in early times, 71.

Literature, Hebrew; two theories of antiquity of, 5; early date of, 51, 76, 238, 250-280; trustworthiness of, 208; in David-Solomon period, 76, 218; David's Lament over Saul and Jonathan, 79, 218; David's letter to Joab, 218; Psalms of David, 78, 219; David's Last Prophetic words, 220; History of Samuel the Seer, 221; History of Nathan the Prophet, 221; History of Gad the Seer, 221; pre-Davidic, 223; Book of Wars of Jehovah, 80, 224; Memorial against Amalek, 254; Song of Deborah, 80, 230; in Mosaic age and Judges, 236; old Hebrew records, 238; problem of script of early, 81, 83, 166-172.

Literature, Hebrew historical, 77; the most trustworthy in the ancient world, (E. Meyer), 205; superior to Babylonian, Egyptian, and Assyrian, 185, 205.

Little Book of the Covenant, so-called, written by Moses, 254.

Lower or Textual Criticism, 29; compared with Higher, 29; need of, 30; goes back of printed editions of Bible, 30.

Manuscripts, no very ancient, of O. T., extant, 2.

Marshal's pen or staff, 232.

Mazkir, scribe or recorder, 217.

Memorial, against Amalek, Mosaic origin of, 254.

Method, or line of argument, in Higher Criticism; literary, value of, 38; historical, value of, 39; theological, value of, 41.

Meshalim, various kinds of, 225.

Midian, ancient civilization and culture of, 151, 170.

Minaeans, powerful kingdom of, in Mosaic age, 169; culture of influenced Israel in Mosaic age (Benzinger), 212, 213.

Minaean script, 151; employed by Moses (Hommel), 169; antiquity of, 170.

Mitannians in Canaan in early times, 70.

Moabites, culture of, 169; early date of their adoption of the Phœnician script, 169.

Moabite Stone, discovery of, 95; epigraphic value of, 95.

Monotheism, of Terahites and Abraham, 241; belief in true, impulse to Abraham's migration from Ur, 241.

Mosaic age, "wiped out" (Duhm) by post-Exilic date of Priest code, 11, 267.

Moses, education of, 175; learned hieroglyphic and hieratic writing, 175; personality of, 204; influenced by Minæan culture, 212; author of Song of Moses and Miriam, 255; of Song of Moses, 264; of Blessing of Moses, 265; composed all of the Pentateuch, according to traditionalists, 11; composed none of it according to extremists, 11 ff; greater than Hammurabi and Chuenaten (Gressmann), 202, 203; a great personality (Volz), 203.

Mycaenean civilization and script, 138.

Myths, alleged in Genesis. *See* Legend and saga.

Narratives, the Genesis, largely legends, myths, sagas, according to Grafians, 20; contain authentic history, 193 ff.

Nehemiah, his reading of the law, 277; had ancient book, 277.

Nomads, character of real, 198; were the Hebrews such, or semi-nomads?, 197-199, 200.

North Semitic inscriptions, 93-123.

Ode of Deborah, a work of genius, and classic, 231; in archaic Hebrew script, 231; written out from the first, 230; a starting-point for literary-historical criticism, 79, 80.

Old Testament, problems of, O. T. science, 1, 2, 3; a record of God's revelation, 270.

Old Testament Books, early, affirmed to have been written in Babylonian language and script, 161; evidence of Gezer cuneiform tablets, 179; hypothesis of Winckler, Benzinger, and Jeremias, concerning, 104, 105; written in cuneiform (Conder, Sayce) 188, 189; written in Hebrew language and script, as proved from archaic Hebrew inscriptions, and other considerations, 108-120, 223-236.

Origin of O. T. books, question for Higher Criticism, 31, 32.

Ostraca, Samaria, 114, 165; archaic character of script, 114, 166; epigraphic value of, 114, 165; afford proof of papyrus as writing-material in Israel, 115.

Palaeography, importance of, 92; an exact science, 154; valuable in O. T. study, 154, 155.

Palestine, civilization of, in time of Abraham, 69, 70; ability of people to learn the cuneiform, 70; early native literature in, 70; Babylonian language and script in, 70, 178, 179, 245-250.

Panbabylonism and Gezer cuneiform tablets, 179; no Babylonian influence in early monarchical period, 187.

Papyrus, as writing-material in Egypt, 55-57; in Palestine and Syria in early times (Kittel), 115; In Israel, 108, 217; used in Byblos in early times, 171; sent from Egypt to Canaan for use in books, 172; early use among Hebrews, 115.

Papyri, various, 59-61.

Patriarchs, no historical knowledge of (Wellhausen), 20; personifications of tribes (Grafians), 21; real personages, according to safe criticism, 197-200.

Pentateuch, traditional view of, 9; Moses as author of, 9; unity and integrity of, 10; modern critical view of, 9, 269-279; no ancient copy of, extant, 161; reflects ideas and conditions of eighth cent. B. C. and so contains little of historical value (Grafians), 10, 197; is substantially from Mosaic age, as attested by internal and external evidence, 238-282; Christ's view of, 9, 281.

Philistines, 130.

Philosophy of History, Grafian, monistic and evolutionistic, 8, 270; theistic, as presented in the O. T., 208.

Phoneticism, Egyptian, defined and illustrated, 56; Babylonian, 53.

Phonograms, character of, 53; cuneiform, 55; Egyptian, 56; prodigious number of Egyptian, 57.

Phoenicians, in history, 144; relation with Egypt, 144; had need of simple script, 145; drew from all quarters in formation of alphabet, 147; devised alphabet in Memphis or Sidon, 148.

Phoenician inscriptions, Moabite, 95; Baal-Lebanon, 96; Hassan-Bey-li, Nora, Abu Simbel, 97; Assyrian Lion-Weight, Abydos, Byblos, Tabnith and Eshmunazar, 98; deductions, 99.

Phoenician hypothesis of origin of alphabet, 84, 144-149.

Priest code, characteristic of, 13; age of, 14; prior to D, 16; ancient, 243; language and style of, 274; material of, 274; literary source of, 275, 276; adapted to Mosaic, not to Ezraic age, 276; traces of, in other codes, 279; Ezekiel and the Priest code, 277.

Prophets, the writing, later than the Law, 22, 76.

Proto-Phoenician alphabet; date of, 150; circulated in Babylonia, Canaan, Arabia, Egypt, 123, 142, 147, 150, 151, 152, 153.

Psalms of David. See Literature Hebrew.

Pseudograph, Deuteronomy, a, according to Grafians, 257.

Pseudonymous writings, authors of, usually detected, 257.

Reconciliation, of conservative and modern critical views on Pentateuch, 24-26, 280-283.

Records, written, of early O. T. books, 16, 17; old Hebrew, 238; pre-Mosaic Hebrew, 239; Abraham and early Babylonian and Hebrew, 250.

Revelation to Abraham (Baentsch and Orelli), 241; motive of his migration, 241.

Sabaean-Minaean script; elegance of form of, 156; relation to Phœnician, 156, 157.

Sacrifice in Wellhausen system, as bearing on date of Priest code, 273.

Saga, so-called, in Genesis, 194 f.; alleged poetic character of, 195; a simple prose narrative, 195; Gunkel's view of, 195; contains authentic history, 194-196.

Samaria Ostraca. See Ostraca Samaria.

Sanctuary, central at Shiloh, 273.

Sanctuaries, Hebrew in time of Judges, 273; imply Mosaic Law, 273.

Sargon I, date of, 63, 64.

Scribe, pen of, in Deborah's Ode, 232.

Scribe, Hebrew, various names for; sopher, 215; shoter, 216; chartom, 217; mazkir, 217; tipnsar, 217; Jeremiah and the scribe Baruch, 218.

Scribes, Babylonian, 54; priests as scribes, 54; skilled Egyptian, 60; education of, widespread, 70; in employ of Abraham, 72; numerous, 240; in service of Moses, 236, 251, 281.

Scribings Sinai, discovered by Petrie; new kind of writing, 152; early date of, 152; probably earliest Phœnician, 1500 B. C., 152.

Script, Phœnician, possibility of Moses employing it, 81, 82; early Hebrew literature in it, 83; Cretan, 92, 129; Aegean, 91; Cypriote, 99; Phœnician in narrow sense, with marked peculiarities, 99; gradual development of Phœnician, 99; comparison of Phœnician, Aramaic and Hebrew, 122; old Semitic in middle of second pre-Christian millennium, 122; Hittite, 137; non-adoption of Phœnician by Babylonians, 149; introduction of foreign into various lands, 155; Minæan-Sabæan, 156; N. and S. Semitic compared, 157; of early O. T. books, 160 ff.; of Hebrews after Exile, 162, 163; Phœnician employed by Hebrews at Exodus, 163, 168; archaic Hebrew in 1000 B. C., 166; suitable Hebrew, necessary, 167; Deborah's Ode in archaic Hebrew, 168; Phœnician among nations surrounding Israel, 168; how Hebrews acquired Phœnician, 172; Minæan, ancient character of, 151, 158; alleged sacred and profane among Hebrews, 183, 184, 188.

Scriptura privata, the Phœnician alphabet, long a, 147, 150.

Scriptura publica, the cuneiform, long a, 147, 153, 170.

Seal Jeroboam, 165.
Seals, importance of, in ancient times, 116; Egyptian, 117; Babylonian, 117, 118; Hebrew, 118; archaic Hebrew, 118-120.
Semites, character and influence of, 45, 46; include Babylonians, Assyrians, Aramæans, Hebrews, 46; original home of, 47, 48; immigration of, into Canaan, 75.
Semites, Northern, original home of, 48; Clay's view, 48, 50, 62, 70; L. W. King's view, 64, 70, 75.
Semitic alphabet. See Alphabet, Script, Writing.
Semitism, in Egypt, 143.
Shakespeare, textual criticism of his works difficult, 30.
Shiloh, seat of central sanctuary and of books, 273.
Sepher, book, writing, 214; occurs in Book of Wars of Jehovah, 224; term probably Babylonian and ancient in Israel, 224.
Shoter, scribe, Hebrew, 218.
Signaries, signwritings, in 5000 B. C. (Petrie), 150.
Sidon, antiquity and civilization of, 145.
Silence, argument from, 41.
Siloam inscription, Hebrew, classic character of, 109.
Sinai Scribings. See above.
Sinuhe, story of, 60.
Song of the Bow, in Book of Jashar.
Song of Moses, 264, 265.
Song of Moses and Miriam, 255.
Song of the Well, antiquity of, 225, 226.
Sources, theory of old Babylonian and Canaanite, used in Genesis, 191, 248; accessible to Moses, 238-279.
South-Semitic alphabet, sister of N. Semitic, 123; in two dialects, Minæan and Sabæan, 124; early date of, 125, 126; possibly earlier than N. Semetic, 124.
South-Semitic inscriptions, 123-126.
Standard Egyptian alphabet, 85, 86.
Square or Aramaic script, used by Hebrews after Exile, 162; epigraphic testimony, 162; date of introduction indefinite, 163.
Stone, Moabite. *See* above.
Stone, ancient writings on, peculiarly valuable, 93.
Stone tablets of Law, size and weight, 176; language and script, 175.
Style and vocabulary, as marks of authorship, 37, 38, 39; illustrated from English, German and French authors, 39.
Supernatural, the, in critical discussion, 23, 24, 269.
Syllabaries, Abridged Egyptian, possible prototype of Phœnician alphabet, 145, 147; Babylonian, 55.
Syllables, not letters, used in Babylonian writing, 53-55; likewise in Egyptian, 55-57.
Tabernacle of Priest code, an ideal structure (Grafians), 272; a real structure (traditionalists), 273.
Tablets, Babylonian, number of, 62; contain varied writings, 62; accessible to Abraham, 240-244.
Tabnith, Phœnician inscription of, in style of autographs of later O. T., 98.
Tell el Amarna Tablets. See Amarna Letters.
Tell Taanach, library chest of, 178; in cuneiform, 178, 179.
Tent-Life in Israel not incompatible with culture and semi-nomadic state, 200.
Terahites had knowledge of writing, 160, 240-242.
Textual criticism. See Lower Criticism.
Theological argument, value of, 41.
Thera, Greek inscription in, 133.
Tiphsar, Hebrew scribe, 217.
Tradition, original oral, of early O. T. books (Grafians), 18; *vs.* original written records, 17.

Transmission of early O. T. books, in pre-Davidic period, 3, 4; by written records, 16, 17; of Deuteronomy, 267, 268; accuracy of, 30.
Trustworthiness of documents to be accepted, 44; of early Hebrew books (E. Meyer), 207.
Tupshar, Babylonian scribe, 240.
Tyre, antiquity of, 145.
Unity of Pentateuch, according to traditional and modern critical views, 10.
Ur of the Chaldees, ancient seat of religion and civilization, 63, 64, 160, 240; literary center, 240. *See* Abraham.
Vocabulary and style, as index of age and authorship, 37, 38.
Wellhausenism, denies Mosaic authorship of Pentateuch, 10, 11; places prophecy before the law, 23; logic of, regarding Hebrew writing and literature, 84; development of civilization, literature and religion in Israel in a straight line, 279; absolutely certain of its correctness, 24.
Wen-Amon, diary of, 168; refers to papyrus, 171; mentions monument of prince, 172.
West-Land, the. *See* Amurru Canaan, Palestine.
Worship, Hebrew, according to Ex. XX, in time of Judges, 273.
Writing, definition of, 52; slow in development, 52; kinds of, 53; cuneiform, 53; Egyptian 55; pictorial and ideographic, 55; phonetic and syllabic, 56; determinatives, 53, 57; on Egyptian pyramids and obelisks, 59; two theories of antiquity of Hebrew, 5, 7, 8, 17; oldest Egyptian, 60, 61; Egyptian partly alphabetic from the first, 85; practised by common people in Egypt, 57; Babylonian, 62; by middle-class Babylonians in early times, 66; in use among Hebrews at Exodus, 80; Hittite, boustrophedon, 88; Aegean, 91, 129; writing with pen of a man, (Is. 8: 1), 183; direction of in, hieratic and Phœnician, 149; direction of, in Babylonian and Assyrian, 149; in Hebrew square characters, 162; in archaic Hebrew, 162; in Phœnician script in time of Joshua, 234; cuneiform, known to Abraham, and patriarchs, 240.
Writing-Material, in Babylonia, 63, 65; in Egypt, 55; in Israel, 7, 108-116, 118-121, 164-169, 214-217, 229-234; in Palestine and Syria, 115.
Zakar or Zakir, early Aramaic inscription, of, 101-103, 172; discovered in 1903 by Pognon, 101; king of Hazrak, 102; epigraphic value of, 103.
Zinjirli, the Aramaic inscriptions of, 104; date and language of, 105.

II.

INDEX OF AUTHORS.

Abbott L., 5.
Addis, W. E., 254.

Bacon, F., 38.
Baentsch, B., 241, 253, 255.
Baethgen, F., 209.
Ball, C. J., 138, 139, 141, 143.
Barton, G. A., 180, 233.
Baudissin, W. W., 33, 272, 278.
Baur, G., 220.
Bavinck, H., 270, 271.
Beardslee J. W., 10
Behrends, A. J. F., 7, 10.
Bennett, W. H., 228.
Bennett and Adeney, 13, 205, 251.
Bentley, R., 41.
Benzinger, J., 8, 182, 183, 185, 187, 212, 244, 245.
Bergk, J., 130.
Bezold, C., 246.
Birt, Th., 145.
Bissell, E. C., 7, 9, 22, 52, 259, 260, 264.
Bliss and Dickie, 72.
Bliss and Macalister, 72, 116.
Boeckh, Aug., 128, 132.
Boehl, E., 26.
Boettcher, F., 139.
Bondi, F., 147.
Boyd, J. O., 277, 278.
Breasted, J. H., 58, 60, 61, 143.
Bredenkamp, C. J., 22, 272.
Briggs, C. A., 10, 78, 219, 220.
Brugsch, H. K., 60, 143.
Budde, K., 251.
Budge, E. A. W., 59, 143.
Burke, E., 39.
Byron, Lord, 39.

Cameron, G. G., 34.
Carpenter, J. E., 269.
Chatterton, T., 40, 259.
Chaucer, Geof., 2.
Cheyne, T. K., 10, 11, 33, 39, 112, 217, 226, 257.
Clay, A. T., 48, 50, 62, 70, 73, 182, 185, 240, 249, 274.
Clermont-Ganneau, 163.
Cohn, F., 252.
Clodd, E., 91.
Conder, C. R., 8, 125, 161, 183, 184, 188.
Cornill, C. H., 8, 10, 13, 18, 19, 33, 195, 209, 257.
Cooke, S. A., 70.
Cooke, G. A., 94, 96, 97, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108.
Credner, W., 33.
Curtius, E., 130.
Croisset, A., 127.

Dareste, E., 252.
Davis, J. D., 78, 175, 219.
Delitzsch, Franz, 19, 51, 202, 217, 282.
Delitzsch, Friedrich, 54, 55, 86, 137, 138, 139, 145.
Dillmann, Aug., 15, 16, 26, 33, 183, 203, 225, 234, 248, 249, 252, 254, 256, 265, 269, 274, 279.
Deutsch, E., 228.
Deecke, W., 89.
Diodorus Siculus, 85, 129.
Donaldson, J. W., 228.
Driver, S. R., 10, 12, 13, 14, 34, 73, 98, 102, 176, 205, 220, 227, 244, 246, 247, 257, 263, 264, 266.
Duhm, B., 11, 267.
Duncan, J. G., 203, 282.

Ebers, G., 86.
Edersheim, E., 19.
Edwards, Amelia B., 268.
Eerdmanns, B. D., 198, 201.
Eichhorn, J. G., 33.
Epiphanius, 163.
Erbt, W., 19, 249, 250.

Euting, J., 86, 94, 97.
Evans, A. J., 91, 92, 97, 129.
Ewald, H., 5, 7, 17, 33, 51, 199, 225, 227, 249.

Freeman, E. A., 42, 43.
Fries, W., 138.
Fuerst, J., 17, 226, 242.

Gayley and Scott, 35.
Gercke, A., 132, 135.
Gesenius, W., 139.
Gibson, I., 25.
Giesebrecht, F., 256.
Girdlestone, R. B., 17, 243.
Goethe, J. W., 39.
Gordon, A. R., 25.
Glaser, E., 159.
Goodspeed, G. C., 106.
Graf, K. H., 10, 11, 14, 15, 16, 271.
Gray G. B., 110, 111, 180, 220, 226.
Green, W. H., 7, 9, 10, 17, 22, 26, 139, 247, 248.
Gressmann, H., 200, 203.
Grimme, H., 158.
Gunkel, H., 193, 246, 247, 256.

Halévy, J., 85, 87, 102, 105, 110, 138, 140, 269.
Harper, W. R., 10, 11, 12, 33.
Haupt, P., 255.
Hengstenberg, E. W., 5, 17, 19.
Herodotus, 84, 129, 134, 262.
Hervey, Bishop, 19.
Herzog, *Real-Encyk.*, often.
Hicks and Hill, 129.
Hilprecht, H. V., 54, 64, 240.
Hitzig, W., 33.
Hogarth, D. G., 91.
Holzinger, H., 10, 11, 12, 38, 226, 227, 246, 255, 257, 261, 263.
Homer, 2, 15, 129, 219.
Hommel, F., 6, 89, 104, 123, 124, 142, 147, 150, 170, 245, 246, 250.
Horace, 38.

Jastrow, M., jr., 55, 240, 242.
Jensen, P., 246.
Jeremias, A., 161, 184, 241, 244, 248.
Jerome, 163.
Johns, C H. W., 65, 240.
Jordan, W. G., 25.
Josephus, Fl., 143.

Kant, E., 27.
Kautzsch, E., 24, 112, 113, 120, 218, 226, 229, 251.
Keil, C. T., 7, 225.
Kent, C. F., 8, 18, 19, 77, 200, 218, 223, 269.
King, L. W., 64, 74, 75.
Kingsley, C., 258.
Kinns, S., 175.
Kirkpatrick, A. F., 79, 222.
Kittel, R., 6, 15, 19, 115, 166, 173, 183, 202, 209, 211, 231, 243, 254, 269, 273.
Kleinert, P., 265.
Klostermann, A., 265, 266.
Kluge, W., 150.
Koenig, Eduard, 15, 33, 38, 51, 139, 183, 191, 207, 208, 210, 217, 231, 233, 239, 248, 250, 256, 259.
Koehler, A., 19, 189.
Kraetzmar, R., 253.
Krall, J., 145, 148, 149.
Kuenen, A., 10, 11, 15, 19, 20, 26, 33, 39, 211, 223, 230, 231, 257, 261, 276.
Kurtz, J. H., 19.
Kyle, M. G., 145, 147.

Ladd, G. T., 17.
Lagarde, P. de, 86, 87, 90.
Lane, E. W., 189.
Larfeld, W., 124, 128, 128, 129, 130, 131.
Leathes, S., 19.
Lenormant, F., 86, 217.
Levy, J., 99.
Lias, J. J., 243.
Liddon, H. P., 8, 9.
Lidzbarski, M., 96, 97, 98, 103, 110, 111, 113, 116, 125, 138, 140, 145, 155, 156, 157, 163, 164.
Lotz, W., 19, 274.
Lucan, 85.
Luckenbill, D. D., 68, 69, 73.
Lyon, D. G., 114, 115, 166.

Macalister, R. A. S., 109.
MacDill, D., 10.
Maclear, G. F., 209, 235.
Macpherson, J., 40, 259.

Mahaffy, J. P., 134.
McCurdy, J. F., 46, 48, 49, 68, 90, 137, 181, 197, 199, 201.
McNeile, A. H., 25, 173, 202, 251, 254.
Marti, K., 11.
Maspero, G. C. C., 54, 57, 86.
Meinhold, A., 21, 25.
Merx, A., 33.
Meyer, Eduard, 44, 88, 207, 208, 225, 246.
Mitchell, H. G., 12.
Milman, H. H., 19.
Milton, J., 39.
Montgomery, J. A., 102.
Moore, G. F., 14, 206, 216, 229, 231, 233, 255.
Moulton, R. G., 26.
Movers, F. C., 145.
Mueller, W. M., 68, 70, 149, 233.

Naville, E., 191, 268, 269.
Neubauer, E., 163.
Noeldeke, Th., 138, 247.
Nowack, W., 8, 33, 70, 89.

Oettli, S., 261, 262, 264, 266.
Orelli, C., von, 33, 229, 231, 241.
Origen, 163.
Orr, J., 7, 252, 254.
Ottley, R. L., 23, 212.

Paton, L. B., 69, 71, 174, 277.
Patterson, W. P., 252.
Perrot and Chipiez, 117, 118, 119, 121.
Peters, J. P., 21, 138, 139, 141, 143, 200.
Petrie, W. M. F., 72, 91, 150, 152.
Phaleris, Pseudo, 259.
Philo, Judaeus, 175.
Piepenbring, C., 19.
Pilcher, E. J., 153.
Plato, 85.
Plutarch, 85.
Pliny, the Elder, 129.
Pognon, H., 47, 101.
Poole, R. S., 86, 174.
Praetorius, F., 157.
Puukko, A. F., 253, 264.

Raven, J. H., 10.
Rawlinson, H., 56, 145, 173.
Reuss, E., 6, 9, 10, 11, 19, 174, 176, 227, 231, 272.
Richardson, E. C., 194.
Riehm, E., 22, 272.
Robertson, J., 76, 171, 272.
Rogers, R. W., 63.
Ronzevalle, S., 110.
Rougé, Em. de, 85, 86.
Ryle, H. E., 1, 10.

Sachau, E., 96.
Sayce, A. H., 7, 19, 69, 104, 116, 153, 161, 225, 232, 242, 244, 246, 248, 256.
Schrader, E., 33.
Schultz, H., 272.
Scott, W., 39.
Sellin, E., 72, 178, 243, 249.
Shakespeare, W., 2, 30, 40, 257.
Schultens, A., 189.
Sievers, E., 195, 255.
Skinner, John, 251, 246, 248.
Skinner, J., 185.
Smend, R., 8, 23, 24, 223.
Smith, G. A., 179, 198, 227, 269.
Smith, H. P., 19, 21, 200, 218, 220, 227.
Smith, W. R., 8, 23, 213.
Smith, W., 19.
Sommerville, M., 117.
Stade, B., 6, 10, 19, 24, 33, 112, 159, 174, 200, 211, 225, 226.
Stanley, A. P., 19, 195, 253.
Steuernagel, Carl, 13, 195, 253.
Streane, A. W., 186.
Strabo, 175.
Strack, H. L., 24, 191, 249, 255.

Tacitus, 85.
Taylor, I., 87, 94, 96, 98, 131, 133, 134.
Thompson, E. M., 131, 135.
Thomson. E., 234.
Tiele, C. P., 250.
Toy, C. H., 62.

Vatke, W., 8, 16, 33.
Vincent W. H., 72, 110, 111, 120.
Virgil, 2.
Volck, W., 19, 25, 265, 266.
Voltaire, F. M. A., 39.
Volz, P., 204.
Vos, G., 10, 22, 254, 272.

Wallace, L., 258.
Ward, W. H., 88.
Watson, R. A., 22, 252.
Weber, O., 61, 66, 147, 150, 151, 157, 270.
Wellhausen, J., 6, 10, 11, 14, 18, 20, 23, 159, 211, 223, 227, 230, 231, 250, 253, 270, 293.
White, R. G., 30.
Wiener, H. M., 272, 273.
Wildeboer, G., 1, 18, 33.
Winckler, H., 19, 72, 142, 161, 169, 185, 186, 187, 244.
Wright, W., 88.
Wolf, F. A., 41.

Zakar, 101, 103.
Zimmern, H., 94, 246.

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